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Dateline

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Letter from the President

It has been another year of solid progress for the Overseas Press Club, now 62 years old and going strong. We've been in our new home on 45th Street for more than a year, and we've used the facilities for some memorable gatherings, including the annual holiday party and a recent reunion of old China hands. Perhaps the sentimental favorite was last September's owl party, celebrating our arrival at Club Quarters and the return of the Club's elegant, three-foot-tall copper owl, lovingly restored after more than a century of late nights. Merlin (as he was named in a contest at the party) perches now on the landing outside our principal meeting room; inside the room is the OPC's collection of war photos, restored as a permanent exhibit.

Thanks largely to the energetic recruiting drive of my predecessor, Roy Rowan, we enrolled 109 new and reinstated members in 2000, bringing our membership to 650 at yearend.

I'm particularly gratified by the success of the OPC Foundation under Bill Holstein, another former Club president. This year the Foundation presented scholarships to 11 aspiring foreign correspondents, a record number and a blazingly talented group, at a packed luncheon at the Yale Club in Manhattan. Two of the awards were new, one of them commemorating Emanuel Freedman, former foreign editor of *The New York Times*, and the other honoring our own Roy Rowan.

I can also report that the Freedom of the Press Committee wrote a record 133 letters in 2000 protesting the treatment of journalists around the world who had been killed, attacked, or persecuted in retaliation for their work.



MERLIN: ON DUTY

The OPC hosted a gratifying number of events in 2000, some of them in cooperation with the Foreign Policy Assn. Foreign correspondents who discussed their new books at the club included Elaine Sciolino of *The New York Times* (*Persian Mirrors*), Mort Rosenblum of the Associated Press (*A Goose in Toulouse*), and *The Times*'s Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn (*Thunder From the East*). In association with the FPA, the Gelber Foundation, and the Canadian Consulate, the Club was also the venue for presenting the prestigious Lionel Gelber Lecture on International Affairs. Patrick Tyler of *The New York Times* won the \$50,000 Lionel Gelber prize for his book *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China: An Investigative History*.

Tonight's Awards Dinner marks, as always, the climax of our year, a time for honoring the best in American international journalism. But none of this would be possible without the dozens of judges who pore over hundreds of entries. My thanks to them and to Bill Holstein, who led the effort. This year brings an innovation: a prize, jointly sponsored by CBS News and *U.S. News & World Report*, for courageous reporting in Russia by a Russian journalist. Russia—its troubled present and its potential greatness—is also the topic of this year's *Dateline*, edited by Michael Serrill and produced with the help of *Fortune*. My thanks to them, too, and to the writers and photographers who contributed their work. And as always, I am grateful to be able to depend on the board of governors and our tireless executive director, Sonya K. Fry.

Larry Martz

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Text and Photos by Roy Rowan

Following Lenin's Tracks

“**T**he landscape in Siberia through which I have just traveled,” said Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, standing on the railway platform in Novosibirsk on his way into exile in 1897, “is extraordinarily featureless: a bare and empty steppe, snow and sky, not a house, not a town, sometimes a stretch of forest, but mostly steppe.”

Exactly 80 years later, I decided to take my wife and two of my sons home from assignment in Hong Kong via the Trans-Siberian Railway. Our trip took place in summer, not winter. But the 10-day, 5,883-mile, 80-stop ride from the Pacific port of Nahodka to Moscow was made over the same rails Lenin rode. And according to my diary, little seemed to have changed.

In 1977, Lenin's communist heirs were still struggling to fill the vast Siberian void. They had planted a few sooty cities in the wilderness, strung sparsely settled mining and logging towns between them, harnessed some of the surging rivers, and in a number of the coldest, most desolate spots, erected high-walled stockades for political prisoners—one so close to the railway tracks that it was painfully visible to Russian train passengers.

Yet through the windows of the *Rossiya*, as the Trans-Siberian Express is called, it was still mostly a bare and empty landscape that rolled by. Over thousands of miles of steppe, swamp, forest, and cropland fields, there was hardly a sign of the human hand. And for a place so heavily publicized as Russia's promised land, what little the hand had wrought was frequently falling to pieces.

Our train consisted of a dozen pine-green sleepers plus a *pectopah*—the dining car. It was not until we reached our stainless-steel and formica compartment, with its four plastic-covered board bunks, that “family Rowan”—as the Intourist guides were to summon us at stopovers—discovered we were consigned to “hard class.” “Soft class” compartments were similar in size, except they had only two comfy, velvet-covered bunks and lace curtains in the window.

Suddenly the gray-uniformed conductresses were waving their yellow flags, the mighty diesel locomotive with the red star painted on its nose revved up, and we were under way.

At 9 p.m. it was still broad daylight as we entered the crowded diner. Cheap champagne and vodka flowed freely, served with a buff-colored caviar from the giant kaluga, an Amur River sturgeon that, we were informed, lays its first eggs at age 17. Our waitress, Svetlana, blew the crumbs off our tablecloth as we prepared to sit down.

The extensive trilingual menu (Russian, English, and Japanese) listed such delicacies as beluga



MILES TO GO:
TRAIN ENGINEER
IN NAHODKA
(ABOVE); BIKINI-
CLAD RAILWAY
WORKERS NEAR
IRKUTSK (RIGHT)

belly flesh and roasted “dusk.” But borscht, sausage, cheese, and fried eggs were all we could count on at most meals. The service was so slow we quickly decided that two three-hour meals per day would have to suffice. That was adequate because our entrepreneurial *provodnik*, Tonia, who made up the bunks in our sleeping car, offered copious quantities of tea, prepared in a giant wood-burning samovar, for eight kopeks a cup.

Five hundred miles north of Nahodka, where the Ussuri River meets the Amur, is the city of Khabarovsk, named after Siberia's Daniel Boone, as Natasha, our local Intourist guide, informed us. The city, she explained, was once populated by distant cousins of the North American Eskimo, who wore fish skins in the summer and dog

skins in the winter. Natasha also let us know that because we were hard-class passengers on the train, we would be consigned to a second-class hotel in Khabarovsk, as well as at our two other overnight stops in Irkutsk and Novosibirsk.

That night in Khabarovsk we attended a one-ring circus featuring performing bears. According to Natasha, Ussuri tigers occasionally wander up from China and tangle with Russian brown bears. "The bears always win," she assured us.

Boarding the next day's express, we rolled westward into the Autonomous Jewish Region, where the station sign in Birobidzhan appeared in Russian and Hebrew. Climbing and curving from there, the double track followed swift sylvan rivers that twist and turn through thick stands of pine, cedar, and ghostly white birches. Siberia may provide 60% of Russia's coal and 80% of its oil and gas, but it also contains 90% of the planet's supply of *Betula Populifolia* (white birch).

We saw only scattered log cabins, a few with TV antennas sprouting from the roofs that slant steeply to shed the heavy snows of 50-below-zero

*In 1977, one
could still
describe Siberia
as Lenin had:
"A bare and
empty steppe"*

winters. But every last hovel had a potato patch and a hillock of fresh-cut firewood behind it.

Jostling for position on every station platform was a battery of *babushka*-clad women ready to sell whatever fruits were in season. The platform shopping continued fast and furious and ended in a series of flying leaps by passengers still bargaining as the train started moving.

Two days and nights west of Khabarovsk, our train struggled up the steep grades of the Yablovny range, through the once-dreaded Narchinsk Prison district. It clanked across ancient steel bridges and emerged from tunnels like a long, green snake shedding its skin, until it pulled into Ulan-Ude, where the rail line from Beijing splices into the Trans-Siberian. A few hours later we watched the sun's fireball sink into Lake Baikal, transforming its waters into a sea of molten lava.

When Czar Alexander III gave the order to commence construction of the Trans-Siberian in 1890, Lake Baikal posed the biggest problem. The granite hills on the south shore were then too difficult to tunnel through. Ferries were used in the summer, and dog sleds in the winter, to transport passengers from one side of the lake to





the other. To speed military equipment to the Pacific during Russia's war with Japan, tracks were laid across the ice. But a few of the fire-breathing steam locomotives went sizzling right through it, and sank to the bottom of the mile-deep lake, pulling the whole train down behind them.

At last we reached Irkutsk, still 3,350 miles from Moscow and a city that our new Intourist guide, Irene, announced contemptuously was once populated mainly by rich fur merchants. One of them, Gregorii Shelikhov, she said, claimed in 1781 to be the first Russian to set foot in Alaska. For his adventurous spirit and fortitude, Catherine the Great awarded him personal control of Alaska, though it turned out later that Shelikhov had sent a hardier soul named Gavril Pribylov to Alaska to trap the furs for him. "Today," Irene told us, "Irkutsk is a city of students," several of whom tried to buy the blue jeans right off the legs of our two sons.

That night we were treated to a performance of *Swan Lake*, danced beautifully by Irkutskian ballerinas. Walking back to our second-class hotel,

*The train
picked up
speed on the
final leg of
our journey,
and so did
the service*

which had one bathroom, though in a separate wing from the sleeping quarters, we were accosted by a young construction engineer eager to practice his English. To aid him in that endeavor we gave him our copies of *Time*, *Newsweek*, and even my Dartmouth College alumni magazine.

The next day, I found myself in sort of a stupor, staring out the train window at the *taiga*—the endless passing forests of larch, cedar, and pine. "I'm losing track of time and distance," I thought. Stations just seemed to come and go: Tayshet, Kansk, Ulyar, finally Krasnoyarsk, the ugly Yenisey River city that means "beautiful."

A fellow passenger and train buff from California helped break the monotony by describing some of the roles played by Americans in the building of the Trans-Siberian. The rail line, he said, was first proposed in 1857 by a U.S. engineer named Perry McDonough Collins. After plans were completed 32 years later, Bethlehem Steel bid to supply the tracks. To grease the rails, so to speak, Bethlehem's founder, Charles Schwab, presented the mistress of the czar's nephew with a \$200,000 diamond necklace.

Two nights and a day from Irkutsk, we rolled



mas, which she said people attend in winter to get warm. As we passed a new apartment complex, I asked facetiously if the cracks and crumbling cement were signs of a recent earthquake. My question didn't faze her. "As soon as there are enough apartments for everybody," she said, "we will start building them better."

Facing Lenin Square in Novosibirsk is an imposing, well-built opera house. Nellie secured four tickets to *Aida*, which on such short notice we assumed was no mean feat. When the curtain went up we felt less privileged; the cast outnumbered the audience. *Aida* sounds strange sung in guttural Russian, but Verdi would have been proud of the stunning stage sets and the

magnificent orchestra, whose conductor wielded his baton in white tie and tails while the kettle drummer flailed away in an orange jogging suit.

By noon the next day we were back on the train, rattling past the steel mills and machine-tool plants that during World War II had been dismantled and moved to Siberia ahead of the advancing Germans. On this final 52-hour leg of our journey to Moscow, the *Rossiya* noticeably picked up speed, and so did the service.

Uniformed *provodniki* ran vacuum cleaners up and down the sleeping-car corridors. The diner now offered fresh oranges from Morocco and canned banana juice from Vietnam. When Andrichova, our waitress, borrowed my wife's copy of *Architectural Digest*, service came to a standstill as the entire dining-car staff, including the chef, oohed and aahed over the lavish American interiors pictured on the magazine's pages.

"Sverdlovsk. You are now in Europe," a fashionably attired Russian woman passenger announced to us in impeccable English. "This is where Czar Nicholas was murdered by the Bolsheviks," she went on to explain. "And it is where we shot down your U-2 pilot, Francis Gary Powers." She seemed pleased by both occurrences.

Passing through Perm, we spied canoers paddling down the Kama River—the first Russians we noticed who were actually having fun. But the primitive log cabins continued to stream by, though west of the Volga they had tin roofs, blue shutters, and smaller piles of firewood. I realized what Lenin meant by "bare and empty steppe." On the Trans-Siberian Railway, the bleakness runs all the way from the Pacific Ocean to Moscow.

Rowan, a former writer for *Life*, *Fortune*, and *Time*, recently served as president of the Overseas Press Club.



SIBERIAN SCENES (CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT): A CHILD POSES NEAR THE RAIL STATION IN KHARBAROVSK; THE AUTHOR'S SON TAKES AIM; WAITING FOR NOURISHMENT IN THE DINING CAR

into Novosibirsk, Siberia's capital. Our Intourist guide, Nellie, immediately informed us that if it were not for an incorruptible engineer, Nikolay Garin-Mikhailovsky, the railway bridge spanning the Ob River would have been erected farther downriver, where a group of scurrilous merchants were offering hefty bribes to have it built.

Nellie spewed a steady stream of statistics about her city, including the fact that it had 1,976 cine-

'I've Been in Russia Too Long':

By Charles Klensch

Thanks to Hearst Metronome News, in the spring of 1955 I became the first American TV news cameraman to set up shop in the Soviet Union. Already based in Russia as bureau chief for Hearst's International News Service, I had been sending an occasional still photo to the INS's sister agency, International News Photos, receiving a princely \$5 for every photo accepted. I had never handled a movie camera, but when Telenews, the TV film service of the MGM-Hearst newsreel agency, offered me \$100 for every film story accepted, I bought a top-of-the-line Swiss-made 16mm Bolex and was off on a new sideline career with no competition.

Within a few months Irving R. Levine opened an NBC bureau, joining the Associated Press, the United Press, *The New York Times*, and INS as the only U.S. press representatives. Levine arrived equipped with a new Bell & Howell camera (his Bolex came later), and then we were two. Not much later Daniel Schorr, also camera-equipped, opened up a CBS operation. The No. 3 broadcast network, ABC, relied on Metrotone-Telenews for its overseas film coverage. And somewhere in there Whitman Bassow of United Press bought a camera and joined the part-time camera gang.

These were interesting times in Moscow. Two years after the death of Stalin, under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Union was experiencing something of a thaw. His government first allowed the Hearst agency to return to Moscow for the first time since World War II. Hearst was followed by the broadcast networks, four additional AP and UP correspondents, and the *Baltimore Sun*. In the 18 months following my taking up a camera for Telenews a growing number of tourists were allowed in, while the Kremlin was playing host to an endless parade of chiefs of state and government.

The most remarkable development was a flood of Americans—political figures, celebrities, and groups as varied as Oklahoma farmers, chess players, weight lifters, and leaders of the National Council of Churches, as well as numbers of adventurous non-celebrities. The first shot log in my surviving Telenews papers is from May, 1955, 10 years after U.S. and Russian armies linked up at the Elbe River in Germany in the closing days of World War II. A group of American veterans who were there had come to Moscow to celebrate the anniversary. I filmed their tour of the showplace collective farm outside Moscow, Red Square, and the Kremlin, along with an evening session at the great hall of the Red Army hosted

**REELING IN NEWS:
THE AUTHOR
(CENTER) AT A
SOVIET NUCLEAR
RESEARCH
CENTER IN 1956**



A Cameraman's Sojourn



by the former commandant of the Soviet Fifth Guards Army that led the advance to the Elbe.

During the next 18 months Telenews used three or four of my films a month. Probably half were no-brainers: VIP airport arrivals and pre-departure protocol signings.

The serial international VIP subjects included West Germany's Konrad Adenauer, China's Chou En Lai, Yugoslavia's Tito, North Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh, Indonesia's Sukarno, the Shah of Iran, Burma's U Nu, Poland's Wladyslaw Gomulka, France's Guy Mollet, Japan's Hatoyama, and Canada's Lester Pearson.

For VIP arrivals foreign newsmen were corralled into a square of security men a hundred feet or so down the tarmac from the arrival ceremonies. To shoot around the security ring required a 75mm or better lens, a tripod with extra-extension legs, and a sturdy camera case to stand on.

The farewell protocol-initialling in one of the Kremlin palaces was simpler because we could stand with the Russian newsreel cameramen and take advantage of their floodlights.

Not all the visiting chiefs flew in. On my log for Jan. 3, 1957—"East German Leaders Arrive for Kremlin Talks"—under "remarks" I typed:

"Pool this footage with UP. UP's Bassow and I were stuck away in such a poor spot at the railroad station that neither of us thinks he got enough film alone for a story but hoping we got enough for one story between us.

"It was about 20 below C [-4F]. 24 frames per second sounded too slow, so I shot it with the indicator on 32 frames, which sounded like 24."

A great old college try, but it didn't work out, and the arrival of East Germany's gang didn't make the evening news in America.

American VIPs (no airport ceremonies) included Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas; his administrative assistant, Robert F. Kennedy; and two other siblings of Senator John F. Kennedy, Jean and Pat; Senator Estes Kefauver; and U.S. Air Force General Nathan Twining.

Aside from the political figures, the American VIPs included a State Dept.-sponsored *Porgy & Bess* troupe; the Boston Symphony Orchestra; Lear Jet's William Lear, the first known civilian to fly his own plane into Vnukovo airport; and movie producer Mike Todd.

I also shot the occasional feature story: The season's first snow in Gorky Park, Russian Easter observances; Red Square parades; the Sunday bird market and the Central Farmers Market; Fashion Institute shows; and a chill winter evening at the Moscow trotting races.

My last group of filmed stories, in January and

February of 1957, were fallout from a Soviet "vigilance" campaign. The Kremlin called for "vigilance" when it appeared that security, particularly in dealing with foreigners, needed tightening.

In a six-week period four U.S. military attachés had been expelled on "spying" charges. Film of the officers and their families packing and being seen off by their embassy colleagues were matched up in New York with film of their arrival back in the U.S.

Then the Soviet authorities brought out four accused Russian émigré spies for a news conference. The men told of being war prisoners of the Germans trained by the CIA and how they were parachuted into Ukraine, where they were captured by Russian security forces. The four were accompanied by a display of radio equipment and other spy apparatus.

A couple of weeks later I cabled INS in New

*VIPs, parades,
and the snow
in Gorky Park
were all part of
a cameraman's
beat*

York: "IN FORTNIGHT WILL HAVE BEEN MOSCOW THREE YEARS. HOW PLEASE TRANSFER?"

A week later I was called to the Foreign Ministry press office, where I was told I was being expelled because of unfavorable reporting on Soviet affairs and for having given subversive literature (principally copies of *Life* magazine) to a student.

As I shook his hand in farewell I said, "Mr Il-yachev, we have known each other just a little over three years and finally here's something we can agree on: I've been in Russia too long."

My final Telenews submission, which did make the evening news, was film of the International News Service correspondent packing his belongings after becoming the fifth American in three months to be declared persona non grata.

*Klensch is retired and living
in New York City.*

**THE LOWDOWN:
IN RED SQUARE
AS FORD UNVEILS
ITS 1957 MODELS
(THE AUTHOR IS
ON HIS BACK)**



'Your Accreditation Has Been Lifted'

By Andrew Nagorski

I knew that many foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union had gone through similar experiences, but when it happened to me, it was still a jolt. The call came on a Friday. "Please come to the Foreign Ministry on Monday at 11 o'clock," the official said. It was August, 1982, the late Brezhnev era and the early years of the Reagan Administration, a period when the Cold War was going full blast, and a summons to the Foreign Ministry press department couldn't be good news. Besides, I had been on the receiving end of plenty of not-so-subtle hints that, to put it mildly, the Kremlin wasn't delighted by my performance as *Newsweek's* Moscow bureau chief since my arrival in May, 1981. But I had never received an official warning about my reporting, so I held out the hope that I was being called in for no more than a tongue-lashing.

I was wrong. Yuri Viktorov, who introduced himself as deputy head of the press department, quickly announced: "Your accreditation has been lifted." As I asked for an explanation, I braced myself for accusations about spying or black marketeering—something dramatic and, no matter how groundless, unpleasant to deny. "Impermissible methods of journalistic activities," Viktorov read from a prepared statement. "What does that mean?" I asked, genuinely puzzled.

Supposedly, I had impersonated the deputy editor of a local newspaper in a town where I had investigated food shortages. (I speak Russian but, as much as I'd like to, I'd never pass for a Russian, since both my frequent mistakes and accent leave no doubt I'm a foreigner.) I was accused of impersonating a Polish tourist in Ukraine because I spoke Polish—a language I knew from my immigrant parents—with local Poles there. I was also accused of violating travel regulations near the Afghan border, although I had informed the Foreign Ministry of my travel plans as required beforehand. I was taken aback and hugely disappointed, but somewhere in my churning emotions I also felt a trace of relief that the charges were so patently ludicrous. In its own convoluted way, the Kremlin was making clear that my expulsion had to do with my reporting and nothing else.

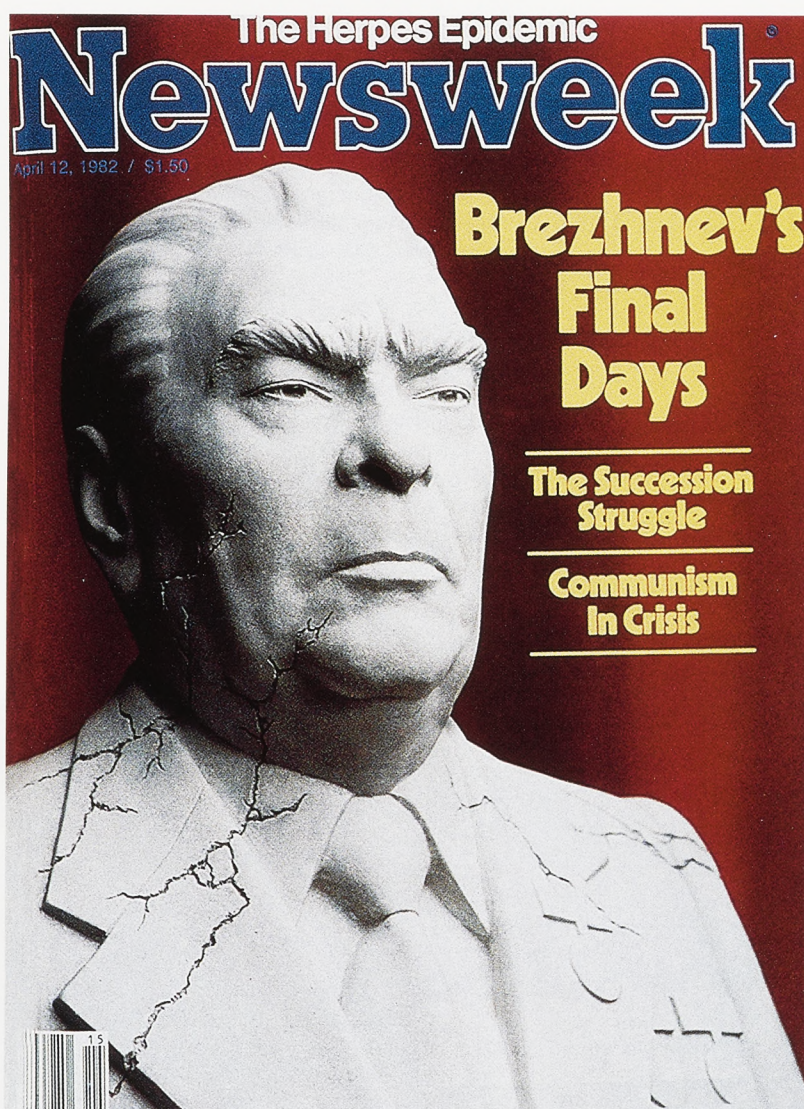
Today, it's sometimes hard to recall what conditions were like for foreign correspondents in Moscow before the collapse of the Soviet Union, before even the first stirrings of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. True, by the time I arrived in Moscow, my colleagues and I didn't have to contend with overt censorship of our stories; that was abolished in 1961. And the 1975 Helsinki Accords contained important improvements in working



NAGORSKI IN RED SQUARE, 1982: IN TIME, THE KREMLIN WOULD REVEAL ITS DISPLEASURE

conditions. For the first time, Moscow correspondents were granted multiple-entry visas. This eliminated a major inconvenience that could be used as a threat: Up till then the authorities could keep correspondents on edge because they never knew if their next trip out of the Soviet Union would be their last. And just as important, the Helsinki Accords established liberalized

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF NEWSWEEK



procedures for traveling inside the country. But there were still plenty of restrictions. Our phones, offices, and homes were routinely bugged, and harassment was commonplace.

The most serious incident before my arrival involved Robin Knight of *U.S. News & World Report*. In 1979, he was drugged during a trip to Tashkent in an attempt to charge him with unruly behavior. Two years earlier, when the détente era was giving way to a new crackdown on dissent, Associated Press correspondent George Krimsky, who had done an excellent job reporting the dissident story, was expelled. A few years after my expulsion, another *U.S. News & World Report* correspondent, Nicholas Daniloff, was arrested on bogus spy charges and locked up in Moscow's Lefortovo prison for 13 days.

I had no illusions that the Soviet Union would be an easy assignment, but I made a conscious decision to treat it, as much as possible, like any other reporting challenge. That meant going after stories without trying to calculate the Kremlin's reaction; if I started down that path, I figured, I would quickly begin engaging in self-

*It became hard
to ignore the
signals that
the authorities
were angry,
very angry*

censorship. Of course, I had to take precautions, not so much to protect myself as to protect my sources. Soviet citizens willing to talk honestly to foreign correspondents were much more at risk than the correspondents were. They could lose their jobs, or, as happened in some cases, end up in a labor camp or pumped full of drugs in a psychiatric hospital. So, like other foreign correspondents, I found myself walking long distances to use pay phones that I hoped weren't bugged. When visiting friends or contacts, I often avoided driving my clearly marked car (with the license plate K-04-644, the "K" for correspondent the "04" for American, and the "644" my registration number). At home, I'd use a "magic pad," which could be instantly erased by raising the top sheet, to tell my wife where I was going.

Since Soviet correspondents in the U.S. weren't journalists in our sense of the term—they served their government and literally promoted the party line—officials in Moscow saw American correspondents as playing a similar role. When I paid a courtesy call at the Novosti press agency, one of the editors declared: "Of course we know that you take your orders from the State Dept." Based on that assumption, anything I did could be seen as promoting the American agenda. When I reported on food shortages in the provinces, for example, the local press indignantly explained that I was trying to justify the Reagan Administration's arms buildup, since I had pointed out that the Soviet Union clearly made defense spending a higher priority than the needs of its people.

The Western press was also often misunderstood by those fighting the system, which was hardly surprising since they had no way of knowing how we put a magazine or newspaper together. One woman tracked me down to tell me about her husband's disappearance into the camps, and her son's recent arrest on trumped-up charges. She then handed me a 35-page, single-spaced story of her life, saying that she wanted every word published. I told her that I would be happy to read it and possibly use some information from it, but that a magazine like *Newsweek* couldn't do what she wanted. She looked at me suspiciously. "I understand, you're afraid of them, too," she said.

After reading a few of my first stories, a Russian friend predicted: "If you keep reporting in this manner, I'll give you a year. They never throw anyone out before then because they like to size the correspondent up." I shrugged the remark off. But as I expanded my reporting to such sensitive issues as the reaction in the Baltic states to the birth of Solidarity in neighboring Poland, the backlash to the war in Afghanistan among young Muslims in Central Asia, and the Kremlin infighting as Brezhnev grew weaker and weaker (including a "Brezhnev's Final Days"

cover), it was hard to ignore the signals that the authorities were angry, very angry.

The pressure was applied first to some of my sources, even people with whom I had merely exchanged a few words. The police picked up a woman I had met on a trip to Lithuania before we could meet a second time. In the northern city of Vologda, I was tailed openly by young men in leather jackets, the KGB's favorite garb. Locals who didn't get the hint to steer clear of me were enlightened in other ways. When two older women chatted with me on the street, a young man who had been lingering nearby burst in and denounced them for talking with this dangerous foreigner.

The KGB then began focusing its attention directly on me. One day David Satter, the *Financial Times* correspondent, and I were driving to a small town outside Moscow to visit an ethnic German who was trying to emigrate. A dump truck appeared in front of us, spilling out a load of gravel that blocked the road. When we managed to get to the town anyway, one of my tires was slashed. On a visit to the Ukrainian city of Rovno, police detained me after I photographed people lined up to buy cabbage. When I protested, the policeman tried to get me to sign a statement incriminating myself. I refused. Two frightened "witnesses" were forced to sign instead, without even reading it. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere. Back in Moscow, a member of the country's only independent peace movement told me about his KGB interrogation. An agent told him that the KGB knows about the group's contacts with me. "Nagorski," he added, "will be dealt with soon."

And deal with me they did. But not before I had the most fascinating experience of my journalistic career. I suspect other Moscow correspondents who were also harassed or expelled share my feeling that, as nerve-racking and frustrating as reporting from the Soviet Union could be, there was nothing else like it, nothing as absorbing professionally and personally. My wife, Christina, and I became friends with a



EXPULSED: AP CORRESPONDENT GEORGE KRINSKY AND HIS FAMILY AWAIT A FLIGHT OUT OF MOSCOW IN 1977 AFTER AUTHORITIES ACCUSED HIM OF BEING A U.S. INTELLIGENCE AGENT

broad range of Russians, whose courage in reaching out to us imbued those friendships with a special intensity; leaving those Russians behind to a very uncertain fate was the most painful part of my expulsion. It would take seven years, and a seismic shift in Russian politics, before the ban on me was lifted and I was able to make it back for a visit. When I showed up on his doorstep, one friend broke into a broad grin, embraced me and declared: "I can finally believe that *glasnost* and *perestroika* are for real." That was 1989. Two years later, the Soviet Union was consigned to the history books.

Nagorski chronicled his Soviet experiences in Reluctant Farewell: An American Reporter's Candid Look Inside the Soviet Union (New Republic/Henry Holt, 1985). Now a senior editor at Newsweek International, he served a second tour as Moscow bureau chief from 1995 to 1996.

PHOTOGRAPH BY AP

Dateline

Vladimir Putin: Savior ^{or} Monster?

A dwindling number of optimists see a strong leader and a stabilizing force. Others see an authoritarian in the Soviet mold **by Edward Lucas**

FROM THE
KGB TO THE
KREMLIN: IS
PRESIDENT
PUTIN OUT OF
HIS DEPTH?





It is hard to imagine another world leader about whom, after more than a year in high office, reasonable people can have such contradictory views. To a dwindling band of true believers (most but not all of them foreigners) Vladimir V. Putin is a magician, a man who out of the sleaze and drift of the late Yeltsin years has conjured the stability and leadership that Russia needs. He has forged a political consensus around a strong state and revitalized reform. He has cowed both regional barons and tycoons, and for the first time since the collapse of communism has forged an effective government that is pushing through commonsense changes.

Archpessimists dismiss this as cosmetic. They see Putin as a monster—the unrepentant heir to the authoritarian and aggressive traditions of the Soviet Union. He regards opposition as treason, ruthlessly squeezes the press, and tolerates xenophobia. The KGB's successor, the FSB, is at the heart of government. Putin has remixed the Soviet ideological cocktail, replacing communism with great-power nostalgia and Russian nationalism.

Another brand of pessimism holds that Putin is no magician, but is too mediocre to be a monster. Rather, he is little more than a minor bureaucrat, promoted accidentally, way out of his depth, and certainly not capable of uprooting the gangsters and cronies who have been gaining control of Russia since the collapse of communism. The misery and stagnation of the past years will continue, in this view.

Each argument can be supported with facts. The optimists can reasonably point out that Putin differs hugely from his predecessor. Where Boris Yeltsin was confused, Putin is alert. Where Yeltsin was drunk and self-indulgent, Putin is sober and disciplined, perhaps chillingly so. Not since the time of Peter the Great has Russia had a leader who combines the youth, fitness, intelligence, education, experience of the outside world, and toughness that is personified by Putin. In contrast to the deeply unpopular Yeltsin, Putin enjoys a huge reservoir of public sympathy that seems unaffected by gaffes that would destroy politicians in more politically responsive countries—such as the belated, unsympathetic response to the submarine tragedy of August, 2000.

In addition, Putin has said and done some sensible things. He rightly identifies ingrained lawlessness as Russia's central problem. He understands how desperately far Russia has fallen behind the rest of the modern world. Before becoming President, he wrote an article (on his Web site, no less) arguing that even with 10 years of exceptional growth, Russia would struggle to catch up with the standard of living that Portugal—one of the poorer European Union members—now enjoys. Not a particularly demanding bit of arithmetic, but a sharp change from the delusions of grandeur that mark many older Russians' ideas about their country's place in the world.

Putin has some good advisers, including some of the sharpest economic brains in Russia. They have notched up some important victories, chiefly the flat 13% income tax. The symbolic humiliation of Russia's self-important tycoons, the "oligarchs,"

would have seemed inconceivable only two years ago, when they ruled the Kremlin roost. Although their business interests have remained largely untouched, they at least no longer seem above the law. There has been a clear public breach with Boris Berezovsky, the country's most notorious businessman-manipulator. Putin is far from being a creature of the old regime.

But there is not yet enough good news to make Putin look impressive. The successes have been limited and superficial. The tax code is an improvement, but without changing the gangsterish habits of the tax inspectorate, business confidence in fair treatment will still be shaky. Although the oligarchs have been slapped down, there has been no decisive break with the crony capitalist habits of the past.

In Putin's defense, he arrived at the Kremlin without a power base. His trusted allies are too few to fill all the key positions. He was also indebted, at the beginning at least, to the Yeltsin cronies who put him in power. Even the best imaginable leader would find it hard to govern Russia well. But the overall impression is of muddle and indecision, interspersed with spasms of often ill-judged activity.

Perhaps the first step in understanding Putin should be to reflect on the mistakes outsiders typically make when evaluating new leaders in a country that has, by accident or design, been misleading foreigners for centuries. New Soviet or Russian leaders have usually had an easy ride—perhaps out of relief that there is at least a chance that the country will become easier to deal with. In Putin's case there is, some argue, an added dimension: He was professionally trained to deceive foreigners. As Sarah Mendelsohn, a U.S. political scientist, points out: "We know he speaks German. The real point is that

he speaks Western." The Russian leadership knows what the West wants to hear, and says it.

The misunderstanding may not be completely sinister. Russians frequently use the same words as foreigners, while sincerely meaning something different. Putin's well-known admiration for Germany, for example, seems to be less for the consensus welfare capitalism of the Bonn republic, and more for imperial Prussia: discipline, thrift, strength, and prosperity. The latter qualities are much needed in Russia, but they do not exist in isolation. A modern economy needs not only regulation but also economic and political freedom.

Misunderstood foreign phrases are not just external propaganda, but also part of what passes for political debate in Russia—in other words, the continuing tussle between crooks and spooks. When a tycoon such as Berezovsky talks about capitalism and freedom, he means a system in which people like himself can extract the maximum amount of cash from the economy, with the minimum of restriction. When an authoritarian-minded Russian like Sergei Ivanov of the Security Council talks about the rule of law, he means locking up people who threaten Russia's security—not the intricate system of constitutional checks and balances that defines the same concept in the West.



THEN AND NOW: PUTIN WITH MOTHER (ABOVE); AT THE POLLS IN 1999 (RIGHT)



On crucial issues such as the virtues of competition or the role of a political opposition, Putin has little to say. When he and other top Russians talk about a modern economy, they mean that they like what such an economy delivers. There is little understanding of how much Russia would have to change.

Despite Putin's public rhetoric, the balance of evidence suggests that Russian politics is not yet about making government work better or raising living standards, but about something more basic: guns and money, and who controls them. That Putin says the right things does not make him a magician who will conjure up reform and magically turn Russia into a comfortable neighbor and reliable partner.

Putin's room for maneuvering often seems surprisingly limited. Although he can push through changes on paper—for example, through Russia's tamed Parliament—making things happen in the country at large is another matter. When scientists pleaded for his help in getting new equipment through customs without paying punitive bribes, he is said to have replied that the customs service was so criminalized that he was unable to help.

Although he has slapped down the cheekiest tycoons, and shows little affection for the others, he has been unable, or unwilling, to clean up the vast Kremlin property empire built up under Boris Yeltsin. Even on his own doorstep, in Moscow's plush suburb, property developers—some of them linked to the presidential administration itself—are making vast profits by tearing up chunks of protected nature reserves to build new luxury houses.

But Putin's weakness is not merely tactical. It is striking to read his authorized biography, and to note the intellectual and emotional poverty of the man. Vladimir Putin is not a man marked by encounters with great books, deep thoughts, or big ideas. Indeed, he bears all the marks of a gray, obedient, middle-ranking paper pusher.

There are former KGB officers who are impressive people—charming, forceful, and intelligent (whatever their morals), used to working effectively in extremely difficult situations. Putin is not one of these. His background in the KGB seems to have been in counterintelligence, the monotonous job of checking up on other spies. In the words of one former KGB officer who used to work in Germany, Putin was “the man behind that soft voice on the phone, that wanted to know why you were three minutes late coming back from emptying the dead-letter box.”

A top Western visitor who met him recently said that Putin gave the impression of spending several hours a day closeted with intelligence reports, rather than actively running the country. “And he is all too aware that he owes his job to coincidence rather than talent,” says the visitor.

Meanwhile, Russia is falling apart. The education system—one of the Soviet Union's few achievements—is being ruined by corruption and lack of money. A big bribe gains you admission to a top institution. Another gets you out, with top marks. The infrastructure is decrepit and increasingly dangerous. Cheap energy keeps the country going, but with ever more waste and at ever greater cost to the environment. Although investment is up noticeably this year—by around a sixth—it is far too little even to



PUTIN AND YELTSIN IN 1999: STRIKING DIFFERENCES

begin to repair the neglect and decay of the past decade. Russia's claim to be an advanced industrial country is already threadbare. After eight years of inaction in the Kremlin, it will in many respects have frayed beyond repair.

Putin's first steps have been to follow, more or less, a liberal economic prescription. But it is hard to see this working. The macro-econom-

ic environment has been remarkably favorable to Russia so far. Investment in the economy, however, is not enough to make up for a fall in the price of oil—which will certainly come—and the real appreciation of the ruble. Although the new Russian entrepreneurial class includes some impressive individuals with some dynamic businesses, they are neither big nor numerous enough to carry the dead weight of the old, corrupt, Soviet-era economy.

There are political dangers, too. A long look at Putin arouses some nostalgia for his bearlike predecessor, Yeltsin. For all his many faults, democratic Russia's first directly elected President believed in three important things. He wanted a free press; he



wanted to be friends with the West; and he wanted to keep the communists out of power. None of these was achieved perfectly, of course. Journalists were intimidated, even murdered, by commercial and political interests, the latter particularly in the regions, where a free press is dying. Television was bought up by oligarchs. Nonetheless the state-sanctioned bullying and intimidation of the press now happening in Russia would have been unimaginable under Yeltsin.

In addition, even at the height of disagreement over Yugoslavia, Yeltsin stood clearly for a fundamental pro-Western choice. Individual bits of the Russian state machine, especially the intelligence services and arms manufacturers, played their own much more anti-Western games, but the Yeltsin Kremlin was basically a friend. How much this has changed is only slowly becoming clear. Although Putin revels in his meetings with top Western leaders, the underlying thinking seems now quite different. The talk of strategic partnerships with China, or of relaxed rules on the sale of nuclear technology, to give

just two examples, are at least potentially quite alarming. Russia is much friendlier than before to countries such as Libya, Iran, and North Korea. (Putin described North Korea's leader as a "thoroughly modern man," which surprised watchers of the Hermit Kingdom's bizarre personality cult and militaristic, autarkic state ideology.)

Also, whereas Yeltsin understood that communism had been a catastrophe for Russia, Putin feels nostalgia for the Soviet past. Although he has ostentatiously laid flowers on the grave of Andrei Sakharov, the icon of Russia's democratic tradition, Putin shows no sign of appreciating any of the saintly physicist's ideas of tolerance, openness, and revulsion of Stalinism. Yet without this intellectual and cultural shift from the values of the Soviet Union, it is hard to see how the moral and intellectual foundations for a stable and democratic Russia can be built. In short: The real danger of a Putin in the Kremlin is that many of the most sinister in-

Appearing Presidential

Clockwise from left: Putin at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow; exchanging documents with Iran's Mohammed Khatami; receiving Palestinian chief Yassir Arafat; with China's Jiang Zemin; visiting Fidel Castro in Cuba



PHOTOGRAPHS (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT): YURI KADOBNOV/AFP; VLADIMIR RODINOV/SIPA PRESS; ITAR TASS/SIPA PRESS; DMITRI ASTAKHOV/SIPA PRESS

Given the choice of making Russia nicer or making it stronger, it is a fair guess Putin would choose the latter



**A SUPPORTER
IN MOSCOW
LAST YEAR:
PUTIN'S
POPULARITY
IS HIGH**

built tendencies in Russia will progress unchecked, or even encouraged.

But to focus on Putin's current limitations may be misleading. His career to date shows both ruthlessness and patience.

Although the people who put him in office still have a certain hold over him, it seems to be declining over time. Barring disaster, it is reasonable to expect that Putin will grow in weight, gain allies, and corral his original backers to a few specific lucrative businesses—or even chase them out of power altogether.

It is possible that Putin unbound will be a pleasant surprise. But the odds seem against it. He is both tough and misguided, contemptuous of opposition and nostalgic for some of the worst parts of his country's history. That does not mean that he is planning a restoration of Soviet-style dictatorship. But it is clear that he desperately wants to restore what he sees as Russia's natural greatness, with no understanding of the catastrophic suffering this has caused in the past, or of the costs. Faced with a choice between making Russia nicer and making Russia stronger, it is a fair guess he would unhesitatingly choose the latter.

It is possible that Putin's role in Russian history will be to miss opportunities, rather than steer the country decisively down the wrong road. But there is also the danger that Putin looks for a Plan B. It is an old tradition of Russian and Soviet bureaucracy that, faced with a setback that it does not understand, it looks for culprits. If none exist, they must be found and punished regardless. If this coincides with the consolidation of Putin's power, it is worrying to think of the internal repression that he could unleash. It might be against bankers who weaken the currency or "gangsters" or "speculators" or "foreign saboteurs" or perhaps a target with even more sinister racial over-

tones. It would be all too easy for Putin to argue that soft methods were tried and failed, and that now it is time for something harsher.

Overblown? Perhaps. But assuming that the current course is not going to work, optimists have to argue that Putin is the sort of man who in the face of failure tears up his assumptions and starts again. Yet that looks fairly unlikely.

And it is hard to see Plan B working. Locking up bankers will not prevent a currency crisis, any more than locking up shopkeepers will keep prices down. Russia's real problems are not economic but political—a whole array of deeply ingrained habits and attitudes that combine against long-term investment, especial-

ly by outsiders, and nourish corruption and crime.

Perhaps the most dangerous prospect of all is that Putin seeks culprits not only at home but also abroad. It would be all too easy to argue in a year or two that the Baltic states are strangling Russian exports, or that more economic integration with Ukraine—whether by rape or marriage—is the magic medicine. Or it may be simple distraction.

Russian fears of persecution are easily played on, as the Chechen war shows. That could lead to more artificially stoked conflicts in either the Caucasus or in Central Asia—the threat to bomb supposed Islamic terrorist bases in Afghanistan last year was an ominous warning of the sort of stunts that the Kremlin can pull when it feels like it.

The best hope of avoiding this is Russia's economic backwardness. Poverty alone will not stop the creation of a police state—just look at North Korea. It does not even mean that Russia is no longer a military threat. Putin is putting more money into the military-industrial complex, and he is allowing it to earn more by selling advanced weapons to China and India. Although the war in Chechnya shows that the Russian military is hopelessly ill-equipped and undertrained, Russia still has weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and probably also biological, which given sufficient desperation it could still threaten to use, at least against countries that are unable to retaliate.

But Russia's poverty does give the West some leverage. Without trade with the West, Russia cannot survive as an advanced country. Putin's ultimate choice may be between following Western ideas that he finds mystifying or even repellent, or accelerating his country's decline.

Lucas is Moscow bureau chief for *The Economist*.



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The Middle Way

In Samara, entrepreneurs, professionals, and families are laboring to create a middle class. Can less fortunate regions follow the city's lead? And will the Kremlin help or hinder the effort?

By Paul Starobin

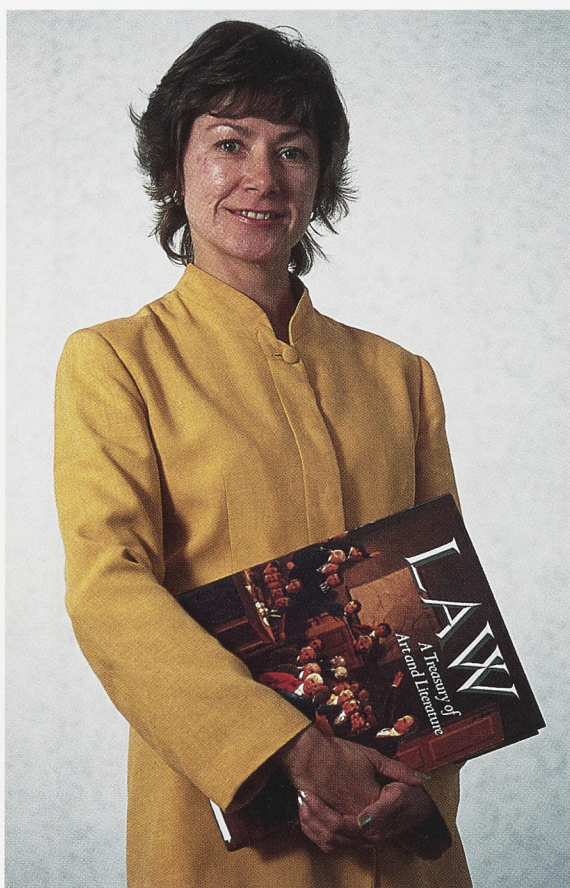
What does it mean to be middle class in Russia? It's a question that's bound to start a fight among analysts, some of whom don't even acknowledge the existence of a middle class in this former land of the proletariat. Granted: The Russians who seem to fall into the category of middle class have little in common with their counterparts in the U.S. They're not saddled with mortgage payments, because most live in apartments they got for free during privatization. And they don't put their savings in the bank, because they don't trust the banks or the oft-devalued

ruble. Nevertheless, a fledgling middle class is taking root in Russia, boosted by a resurgent national economy and its own bootstraps. Its numbers are most concentrated in Moscow, but the provinces are catching up. Depending on the definition used, some 12 million to 36 million Russians, or 8% to 25% of the nation's 145 million people, qualify as middle class. "Evidence for the existence of an economic 'middle' in Russia is overwhelming," declares Georgetown University professor Harley Balzer, who's

SELLING THE GOOD LIFE: LYAKHNOV-SKAYA RUNS A GROWING TRAVEL BIZ







writing a new book on Russia's emerging middle class.

**MERKULOVA:
"A STATE OF
PERMANENT
ANXIETY"
ABOUT THE
ECONOMY**

But who exactly are these people? What do they do, and what personal qualities separate them from the vast numbers of Russians who haven't attained their much-envied status? Seeking to gain some purchase on the sensibilities of Russia's new middle class, I recently journeyed to Samara, a heartland city of 1.2 million on the Volga River in southeastern Russia. I poked my nose in at the local Chamber of Commerce, talked to some business managers, strolled through a new upscale housing development—and most helpfully, got together with a group of seven residents, all of whom fit just about anyone's definition of middle class. These folks, four women and three men ranging in age from 23 to 50, included an engineer turned crayfish farmer, a lawyer, and a trio of business consultants. For two hours on a weekday evening, we sipped beer—Heineken was preferred to Russian-made Balticas—snacked on salami sandwiches and potato chips, and talked about how they were doing.

Sure, things are tough, everyone agreed. But they're getting better. The

economy is adding jobs, and business opportunities. As bad as Russia's August, 1998, financial crisis was, these people weathered it, and they have acquired an accepting attitude, unusual in Russia, toward risk. Capitalism, at least, offers flexibility.

Most of these folks have already changed careers at least once. Irina Lyakhnovskaya, an environmental engineer at a defense plant in the Soviet era, founded an insurance business in 1992. But the enterprise struggled, and four years later she abandoned it to launch a tourist agency that specializes in arranging hunting and fishing trips for visitors from Finland and Norway. The tourist company nearly died in the 1998 crisis. For three months, no money came in at all, but the business survived and is now growing.

Vitali Kozhevatin, 43, a Soviet-trained sea transport engineer, turned to crayfish farming after his pre-crisis venture, installing car alarms, went belly-up. Volatility, he says, is an inescapable part of business life in Russia.

Also starting businesses are a growing number of ex-military men. "Many officers are just afraid to change their lives. It's a hassle, but I am glad I did," says Sergei Tolmachev, 39, a former major in the military's engineering corps who now runs a Samara consulting firm that helps businesses lease commercial real estate. Tolmachev, who sold his Lada car to raise funds for his enterprise, estimates that from 15% to 20% of small-business operators in Samara hail from the military or the security services. "The skills you get in the Army help you to be more flexible, to understand a situation immediately, to make decisions," he says.

The revival of a small-business-dominated bourgeoisie in Russia harks back to the twilight of czarist times, when Moscow, St. Petersburg, and leading provincial towns had a nascent middle class that consisted principally of merchants and small companies. In Samara, a new generation of such proprietors has established 150 to 200 enterprises in the past two years to

supply equipment such as tables and shelves to a growing number of shops, street kiosks, restaurants, and bars. There are now some 400 independent bakeries in the region and approximately 80 independent gas stations. There are also a number of furniture makers and computer software companies. With the benefit of a cheaper ruble, small dairies have increased



**BORN TO
SHOP? YOUNG,
WELL-DRESSED
FAMILIES NOW
STROLL THE
CITY'S STREETS**

their share of the regional dairy market from 10% before the crisis to 40% now.

No doubt, many of the entrepreneurs underreport income to evade taxes—something of a national pastime in Russia. Nevertheless, in sharp contrast to the nation's infamous oligarchs, who specialize not just in tax evasion but also in asset-stripping and offshore banking, these

folks typically are plowing profits back into their ventures, thus helping to create jobs and a sustainable economic base. And they're looking to get more locally involved, not less. "I'd feel safer if I had my own solid property," declares Lyakhnovskaya, the tourist agency operator, who would like to build a hotel in Samara.

It's not just small businesses, of course,

that are behind Samara's new middle class. Also feeding the ranks are managers at big Russian and multinational companies. Foreign outfits, which generally pay higher salaries, are turning increasingly to Russians to fill management jobs once held by expatriates. In Samara, the new general manager of Coca-Cola Bottlers is a Russian, replacing a Briton. Many ex-



Among Samara's advantages are its enviable location along the Volga River—and a family-friendly atmosphere

pats left the city after the 1998 crisis, and the available pool of qualified Russian managers is getting deeper each year.

Meanwhile, Samara's burghers are creating institutions to aid business. A growing force is the Chamber of Commerce of the Samara Region, based in an elegant mansion built by a wealthy

19th century merchant and used as a hotel by Communist Party brass during the Soviet period. There are 900 members, 700 of them small businesses. Considerable energy is devoted to lobbying the regional political administration and legislature.

The chamber recently staved off an energy tax proposal that member gas stations feared would hurt efforts to compete with retail outlets affiliated with Yukos Oil Co., a big vertically integrated company. "We

are provided with all draft [regional] Duma laws," Chamber Vice-President Alexander V. Andriyanov told me.

Samara's businesswomen, meanwhile, have formed their own club, headed by the owner of a local art gallery. Its 20-odd members helped elect one of the crew, Alla Dyomina, a health-care administrator, to the regional Duma. Dyomina keeps the club abreast of the legislative scene, and members have a direct channel into

**RISK-TAKER:
ONCE AN
ENGINEER,
KOZHEVATKIN
IS BETTING ON
CRAYFISH**



the regional administration: The husband of the gallery owner works for Governor Konstantin Titov, whose pro-business policies have helped to make the region one of the most prosperous in Russia.

Consumer demands led by the middle class are forcing authorities in Samara to improve health care. Unlike most others, public clinics offer fee-based services supplementing those provided by the government. The clinics are investing the new funds in modern equipment, providing the region with what analysts say is Russia's best health care outside of Moscow.

What's lacking is not so much the economic conditions for the growth of the middle class in Samara but the right kind of psychological environment. Because the middle class is still such a small fraction of the population, its members attract considerable envy from their less-well-off peers. Indeed, there remains in Russia a widespread suspicion of folks who make money. In part because few members of Russia's intelligentsia have made it into the middle class, there are few cultural products—books, films, TV shows—that feature middle-class lives. Advertisers cater to their tastes, but that is thin gruel for the soul. The result is that a sturdy middle-class consciousness has been slow to form. The people who've climbed into the middle class worry that the slightest tremor in the economy could wipe out all of their progress. "I live in a state of permanent anxiety," says Marina Merkulova, 42, administrator of an American Bar Assn. technical-assistance program in Samara.

Part of the difficulty is that the emergence of a new middle class rooted in the post-Soviet commercial sector has been accompanied by the destruction of the old Soviet middle class dominated by such professions as teaching and medicine. In Samara and elsewhere, middle-class status is attached largely to income, not education. Teachers and doctors work mostly in the public sectors and are lucky to re-



ceive the salary of a factory-floor laborer.

Also benefiting Samara is its enviable location on the Volga—and a family-friendly atmosphere. In the heart of the city is a mile-long beach and riverfront promenade graced by ashberry trees, ice cream stands, and outdoor cafés featuring *shashlik*, a kind of shish kabob. Young people in business dress stroll alongside mothers with babies. Up the road is the new entertainment center, featuring a multiplex cinema, a billiards hall, a video arcade, and a kids' play area. Security is tight—entrants pass through a metal detector. And in what would not be a bad trend for cigarette-saturated Russia, parts of the place are off limits to smokers.

Samara has climbed higher than most places in Russia. The real question is whether truly down-and-out locales can get on a Samara track. The development of a middle class is too large a task for local initiative alone. That's why there is ultimately no substitute for Kremlin action to create the basic conditions in which a middle class can have at least a chance to establish itself. Not that this approach is itself without risk. "Historically, whatever Moscow authorities pay attention to immediately goes wrong," says Elena Tsykalo, a Samara consultant who helps fledgling entrepreneurs get off the ground.

So far, President Vladimir V. Putin's regime has a mixed record. It improved matters by enacting tax reform that simplified the tax code and cut rates. Under the new law, individuals pay a flat 13% income tax. Payroll taxes paid by employers, including small businesses, are sharply lower. Also helpful is the Putin team's views in favor of open markets, which have boosted foreign investment. Enact-

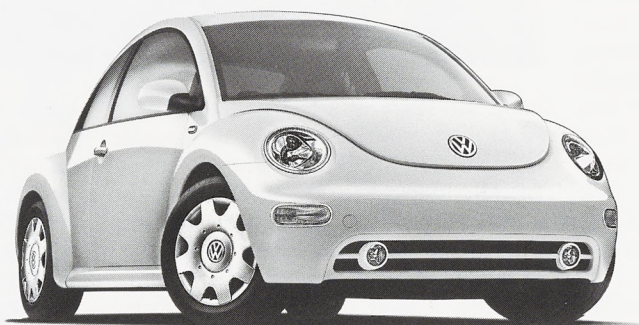
ment of a Putin-backed proposal to permit ownership of land could enfranchise a potentially vast class of property owners. Now, entrepreneurs can buy a building, but not the land underneath it.

**TSYKALO:
PESSIMISTIC
ABOUT THE
KREMLIN'S
ABILITY TO
HELP BUSINESS**

No less important is Putin's initiative to create a credible banking system to which small businesses and consumers have easy access. There is at present no system of deposit insurance for savers; there is almost no market in mortgages for residential housing; and few small businesses can get a bank loan. Bank deposits, which typically account for half of gross domestic product in Western countries, make up only 4% in Russia.

Russia remains a laggard among some of the former Soviet Union's smaller republics in building a middle class. But it can't be forgotten that Russia was ground zero for the Bolshevik revolution, for the doomed project of building a classless society. Lenin, the lawyer who led that cause, was a man of impeccable bourgeois origins, a native, in fact, of the Samara region who came to despise his own roots. He still lies entombed in a mausoleum on Red Square, but an emptier symbol is hard to imagine. For all around him, Russians have resumed their quest, frozen in time, for a middle-class society. And slowly, with no doubt more stumbles to come, they are getting there.

Starobin is Moscow bureau chief for BusinessWeek. This is an adaptation of an article that appeared in BusinessWeek in October, 2000.



We think people should be well-rounded too.



The Overseas Press Club of America ANNUAL AWARDS



A Palestinian taunts Israeli soldiers in Ramallah

By William J. Holstein, Awards Chairman

THE WORLD IS AN INCREASINGLY COMPLICATED PLACE, and the 2000 Overseas Press Club award competition was eloquent testimony to that central truth. Altogether, a record 452 entries poured in, up from 436 last year.

Fratricidal local conflicts have dominated our award-giving for several years now, and in this year's judging they were once again an important theme. Winning entries covered tragedies in Sierra Leone, Kosovo, and East Timor.

But a surprising number of awards touched upon the broad theme of globalization—in business, environment, health, and even religion. Judges rewarded

journalists who dug deeply into these cross-border trends. They also demonstrated strong interest in deeper, more penetrating works that were more historical in nature.

*Once again,
fratricidal local
conflicts—think
Kosovo—are the
dominant theme*

In general, these awards help vindicate editors, producers, and correspondents who dedicate themselves to quality coverage of the world. Our thanks to some 60 judges who took part and to the sponsors who support these awards.

My co-chairs in managing the judging process this year were Pete Engardio of *BusinessWeek* and Jane Ciabattari of *Parade*. Together, we are defending and promoting the best and the brightest.

1. THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

IAN JOHNSON

The Wall Street Journal

"A Death in China: The Politics of Suppression"



Ian Johnson's coverage of the Falun Gong sect demonstrated the lengths that Chinese leaders will go to to stamp out dissent of any sort. Not only did he uncover a story of how adherents were subject to torture and death, he did it while being actively harassed by Chinese authorities, putting his personal safety at risk. His work upholds the finest traditions of foreign correspondence: accurate and engaging reporting of a complex and hidden subject under dangerous conditions.

CITATIONS: Maura Reynolds

Los Angeles Times

"Finding the Real Story in Russia"

Staff of the Associated Press

"Middle East"

2. THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service interpretation of international affairs

BARTON GELLMAN

The Washington Post

"Death Watch: AIDS in Africa"



In *The Washington Post's* "Death Watch" series about the AIDS crisis in Africa, Barton Gellman broke new ground by looking at the policy decisions—and the missed opportunities—that lay behind the plague that has devastated the entire continent.

Drawing on classified documents, dozens of interviews, and national intelligence estimates, Gellman documented the ways in which bureaucratic politics and indifference among government officials, international organizations, and corporations stymied a global response to fighting the disease. He also probed the international discrepancies in AIDS treatment and provided details of secret talks between major pharmaceutical companies and the U.N. in the early 1990s. Gellman's powerful reporting resonates today in the continuing debate about AIDS drugs in Africa—who should get them and at what cost. His articles provide a rich perspective on the history of this deadly disease.

CITATION: Roger Cohen

The New York Times

"European Immigration"

3. THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL AWARD

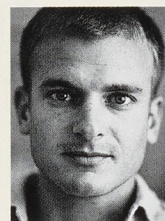
Best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

CHRIS ANDERSON

Aurora for

The New York Times Magazine

"Desperate Passage"



The judges agreed that Chris Anderson's brave work in documenting the harrowing journey of Haitian refugees from their homeland met the exacting standards of the Capa Gold Medal. Anderson's courage and enterprise are undeniable as he takes us aboard a boat carrying Haitian refugees on a perilous journey. Befitting the circumstances, his images are in black and white. They vividly project the confining reality of the hell within the ship's hold.

CITATIONS: Rafiq Maqbool

Associated Press

"Srinagar Blast"

Chris Gerald

Agence France-Presse

"Hell on Earth: The Middle East"

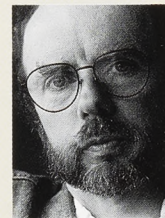
4. THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Best photographic reporting from abroad in magazines and books

EUGENE RICHARDS

The New York Times Magazine

"The Global Willowbrook"



In his deeply personal style, Eugene Richards reveals conditions inside a Mexican mental hospital and provides a stark and compelling study of the institution and its inhabitants. His powerful images go far beyond what he sees, also seeming to capture the inner experiences of his subjects. In the tradition of a true photojournalist, he brings us into an environment that we would otherwise never glimpse.

CITATIONS: Ron Haviv

SABA

"Blood and Honey: A Balkan War Journal"

Ettore Malanca

Sipa for The New York Times Magazine

"Ethnic Fencing"

5. THE JOHN FABER AWARD

*Best photographic reporting from abroad
in newspapers and wire services*

MICHEL duCILLE

The Washington Post

"The Other War: A Journey to the Wounded Heart of Africa"



The judges were drawn to Michel duCille's searing collection on *The Washington Post* Web site, which portrayed the devastated victims of Sierra Leone's conflict. With a careful, sensitive eye, duCille captured the results of unspeakable horrors that left these victims scarred forever. His images of the very young were especially poignant, underscoring the long-lasting effect this human tragedy will have.

CITATION: Toshihiko Sato
Associated Press
"Concorde Crash"

6. THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Best radio news or interpretation of international affairs

STEPHEN SMITH, MICHAEL MONTGOMERY, DEBORAH GEORGE

*American RadioWorks/
Minnesota Public
Radio/NPR News*
"Massacre at Cuska"



SMITH



MONTGOMERY



GEORGE

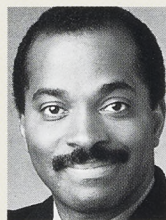
This investigative radio documentary about Serbian atrocities in the province of Kosovo was remarkable. It included a dramatic retelling of one of the most tragic episodes during the long Balkans disintegration. But it also went a step further and took listeners on a relentless pursuit of those responsible for the massacre. The correspondents examined a trail of evidence linking the killings to officials in Slobodan Milosevic's government in Belgrade.

7. THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Best TV spot news reporting from abroad

RON ALLEN, BOB ARNOT, BOB FAW, KEVIN TIBBLES

NBC Nightly News
"Mozambique Floods"



ALLEN



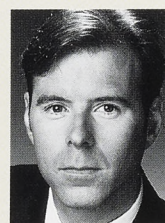
ARNOT

Floods last spring in Mozambique drove more than a half a million people from their homes and claimed 700 lives. While most of the world ignored the disaster, *NBC Nightly News* sent sever-

al teams to cover the story as it unfolded. The results—including the heroic rescue of a woman who had given birth in a tree—were brave, compelling, and even stirring.



FAW



TIBBLES

CITATIONS: Dana Lewis, Robert Hager,
Ron Allen, Jim Miklaszewski
NBC Nightly News
"The Kursk"

Alessio Vinci and CNN Belgrade Staff
CNN
"Uprising in Belgrade"

8. THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

*Best TV interpretation or documentary
on international affairs*

SHERRY JONES, MARTIN SMITH, DAVID FANNING, MICHAEL SULLIVAN

*Washington Media
Associates for Frontline/
WGBH Boston*
"Return of the Czar"



JONES



SMITH



FANNING



SULLIVAN

Starting in June, 1991, when Boris Yeltsin gained power, this piercing account of the errors and miscalculations made in the name of transforming Russia is compelling. To contain the growing economic chaos following one failed Western-backed experiment after another to move to free-market capitalism, Yeltsin resorted to increasing authoritarianism and crony capitalism that encouraged rampant corruption. President Clinton, however, continued to support the autocratic Yeltsin with loans, goodwill, and bad advice. The story ends with the first days of President Putin and the sad and troubled spirits of the Russian people, who see no better future for themselves, only hopes for their children.

CITATIONS: William Cran, Greg Barker
Frontline/WGBH Boston
"The Survival of Saddam"

George Crile, Vivian Schiller, David Rubin
CNN Productions
"Rehearsing Doomsday"

>> AHEAD OF THE CURVE



and connecting the global community

As citizens of this global world, we are bound together by business and economics, science and technology, culture and lifestyle. Each week Newsweek connects more than 22.5 million readers worldwide to these issues with its English and local language editions—including ITOGI, the first independent newsweekly in Russia. As a truly international newsmagazine, Newsweek is clearly the leader in connecting the global community to the issues that shape our world.

Newsweek



The Olivier Rebbot Award

EUGENE RICHARDS

POOLS OF URINE AND
FECES COLLECT ON
THE FLOOR OF THE
MEN'S WARD AT
OCARANZA PSYCHIATRIC
HOSPITAL IN HIDALGO,
MEXICO (ABOVE).
HAVING RECEIVED NO
TREATMENT, A 17-YEAR-
OLD GIRL, ABANDONED
OUTSIDE A CHURCH AS
AN INFANT, SWALLOWS
HER WHOLE HAND
(RIGHT).



The John Faber Award

MICHEL duCILLE

CLOCKWISE FROM
LEFT: A WAR VICTIM
WORSHIPS AT A
MAKESHIFT MOSQUE
IN A SIERRA LEONE
AMPUTEE CAMP; SATU
BRINAIRE, A WOMAN
FIGHTER, GUARDS
POLITICAL LEADER
FODAY SANKOH IN THE
TOWN OF
MAGBURAKA;
8-YEAR-OLD JOSEPH
HELPS HIS
GRANDFATHER SMOKE



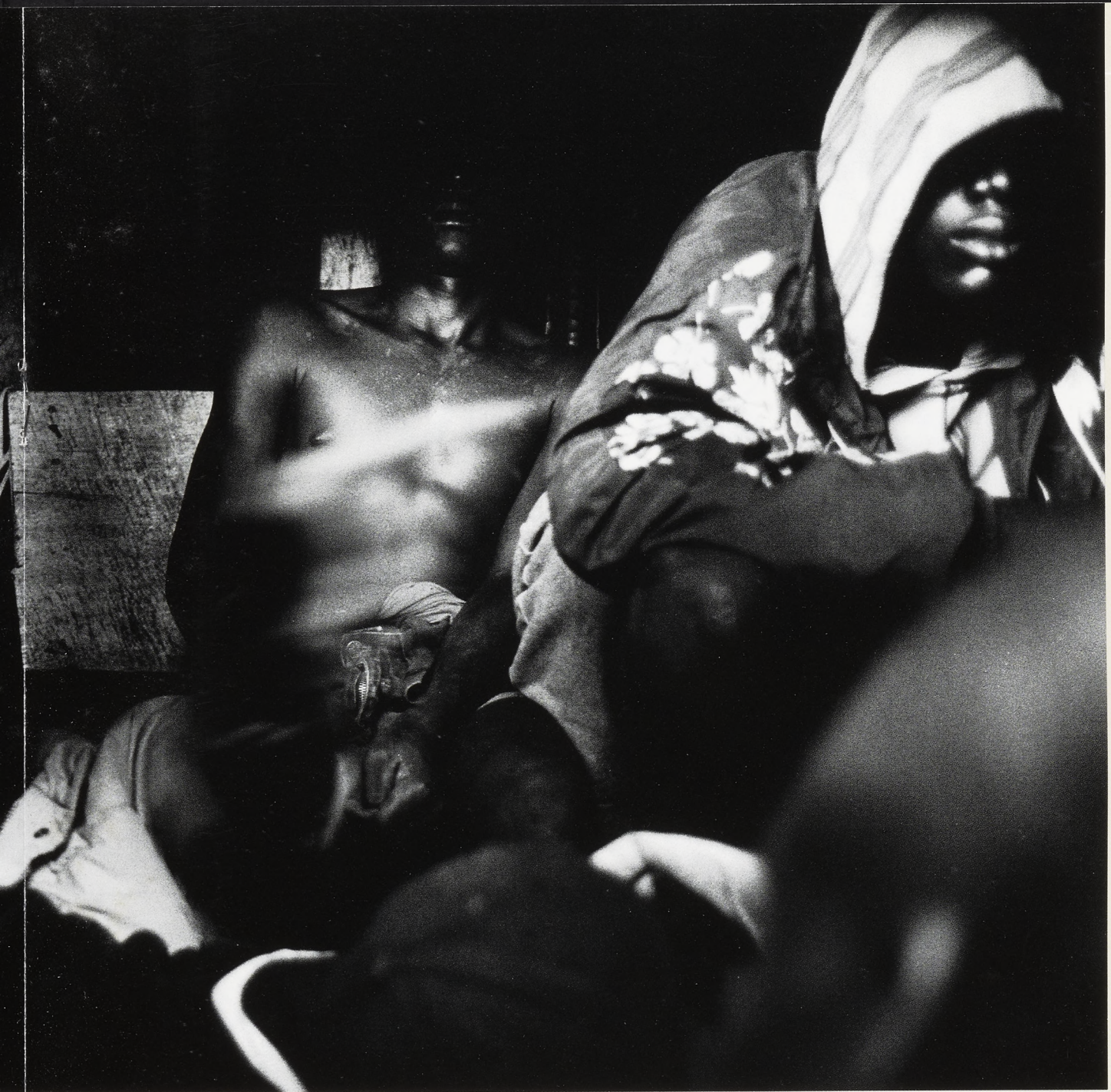


The Robert Capa Award

CHRIS ANDERSON

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP:
HAITIANS CRAMMED
INTO THE HOLD OF
THE RICKETY SAILBOAT
BELIEVE IN GOD, AS
THEY ENDURE THE
450-MILE JOURNEY TO
THE U.S.; MIGRANTS
AWAIT DEPORTATION ON
GREAT INAGUA ISLAND
IN THE BAHAMAS AFTER
FAILING TO ENTER THE
U.S.; THE SHOREFRONT
OF HAITI'S ÎLE DE LA
TORTUE, WHERE THE
ESCAPE BOATS ARE
FASHIONED FROM PINE
TREES, SCRAP WOOD,
AND USED NAILS





9. THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL AWARD

Best magazine reporting from abroad

STEVE COLL

The Washington Post Magazine

"Peace Without Justice: A Journey to the Wounded Heart of Africa"



This article was a tour de force of both reporting and writing. Coll produced a poignant, amazingly vivid account of the savage conflict that has consumed Sierra Leone. His first-person narrative made the piece compelling reading. The understated way he described what he and photographer Michel duCille saw gave the piece devastating power.

CITATION: Pete Engardio, Rose Brady and the BusinessWeek Team
"Global Capitalism: Can It Be Made to Work Better?"

10. THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Best cartoons on international affairs

SIGNE WILKINSON

Philadelphia Daily News

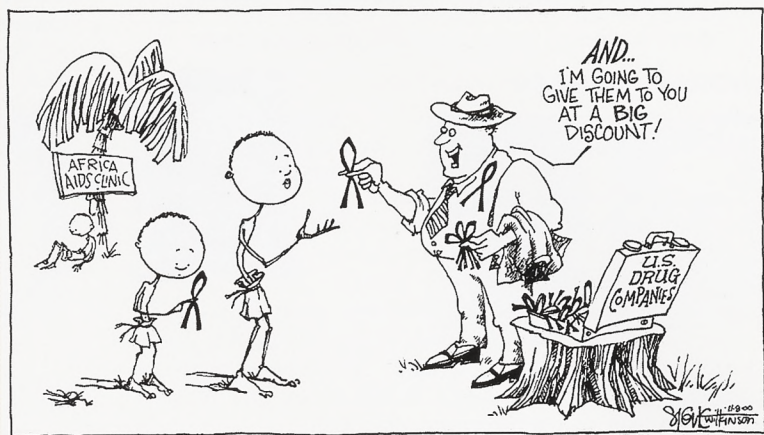
Signe Wilkinson's cartoons tackled extraordinarily difficult issues in a very sophisticated, nuanced, and original fashion. At her best, she managed to capture the essence of an overseas news event—the failed Middle East peace process, for example—and present it in a way that even uninformed American readers could easily grasp. She also chose topics ignored by others and made them work, from global warming to India's gruesome bride burnings. She did so with great wit.



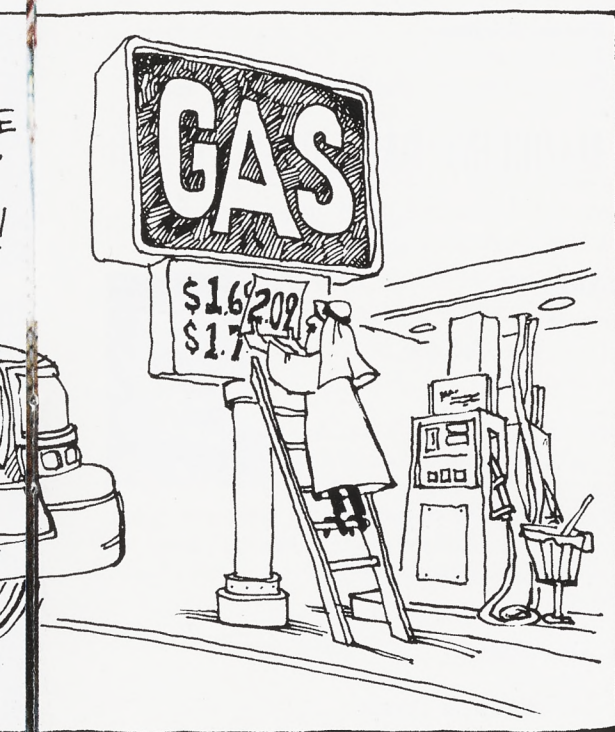
CITATIONS: Mike Luckovich
Atlanta Constitution

Stephen P. Breen
Asbury Park Press





Citation winner Stephen P. Breen



Citation winner Mike Luckovich

11. THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in magazines

ANDREW TANZER

Forbes

"The Great Quota Hustle"

This story revealed the true economic impact of America's little-understood import quota system. Andrew Tanzer exposes a tangle of regulation that has failed to protect much of the U.S. textile industry, while costing consumers billions of dollars and enriching a few nimble entrepreneurs who manipulate the system. This eye-opening piece is a model of the clarity that a skillful writer and reporter can produce on an often tedious subject.

CITATION: Dexter Roberts

BusinessWeek

"Globalization's Impact on China"



12. THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in newspapers or wire services

JOE STEPHENS, DEBORAH NELSON, MARY PAT FLAHERTY, KAREN DeYOUNG, JOHN POMFRET, SHARON LaFRANIERE, DOUG STRUCK

The Washington Post

"The Body Hunters"

This series on the testing of pharmaceuticals on often unsuspecting foreign subjects stands out for its startling reporting, informative graphics, and heart-rending photography. The *Post* team went beyond the usual examinations of globalization to focus on an industry that is subject to far less journalistic scrutiny than such typical targets as autos, textiles, electronics, and media.



CITATION: Richard Raeke

The Anniston Star

"The Job Drain: From Alabama to Mexico"

13. THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in the broadcast media

DAWN FRATANGELO, SHACHAR BAR-ON

Dateline NBC

"Mark of Dishonor?"

This intriguing investigative report disclosed how a prominent U.S. bank raised millions of dollars for Hitler's Third Reich between 1936 and 1941. The fund-raising campaign was conducted in a clandestine project called the Rueckwanderer Marks Operation. Producer Bar-On and Correspondent Fratangelo spent months probing archives around the world to uncover documents, which had been concealed for more than half a century, describing how Chase National Bank was responsible for this unethical operation.



FRATANGELO



BAR-ON

ducted in a clandestine project called the Rueckwanderer Marks Operation. Producer Bar-On and Correspondent Fratangelo spent months probing archives around the world to uncover documents, which had been concealed for more than half a century, describing how Chase National Bank was responsible for this unethical operation.

CITATIONS: Adam Smith, Peter Foges

Adam Smith Educational Productions Ltd.

and Alliance International

"Crossroads China 2001"

Martin Stott, Karen Lowe

Marketplace Radio/Marketplace Productions/

Minnesota Public Radio

"AIDS in Uganda"

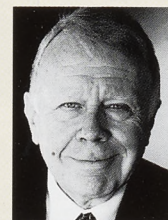
14. THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Best nonfiction book on international affairs

A.J. LANGGUTH

Simon & Schuster

"Our Vietnam: The War 1954-1975"



Our Vietnam is an elegantly structured, beautifully written, retelling of the story of America's longest war. The author draws upon newly opened archives and his experiences as a reporter in Saigon for *The New York Times*. He made five recent trips to Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, and Beijing to interview communist and former Vietcong leaders, diplomats, and scholars about their political and military strategies during the war.

CITATION: Elaine Sciolino

The Free Press

"Persian Mirrors: The Elusive Face of Iran"

15. THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Best international reporting in any medium showing a concern for the human condition

LAURIE GARRETT

Hyperion/Newsday

"Betrayal of Trust: The Collapse of Global Public Health"



Laurie Garrett's in-depth research and skillful reporting practically defines the category "showing a concern for the human condition." Garrett describes the collapse of public-health systems in Africa, the former Soviet Union, India, and the U.S. Her work forces the public—and hopefully governments—to refocus on what a health system is supposed to do.

CITATIONS: Tina Susman

Newsday

"Africa's Great Divide"

Matthew Hay Brown

The Hartford Courant

"Iraq: Between Sanctions and Saddam"

16. THE ERIC & AMY BURGER AWARD

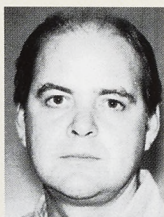
Best international reporting in the broadcast media dealing with human rights

SORIOUS SAMURA, RON McCULLAGH, ELIZABETH GROUND

CNN Productions and Insight News Television
"Cry Freetown"



SAMURA



McCULLAGH

With this documentary, Sorious Samura and CNN have told the long-ignored story of the bloody January, 1999, sacking of Freetown, Sierra Leone. During some of the worst violence, cameraman Samura was the only journalist on the scene, filming abuses against a civilian population—including mass amputations. Samura's film was almost never shown because networks found it too graphic.

17. THE JOE & LAURIE DINE AWARD

Best international reporting in a print medium dealing with human rights

CAMERON W. BARR

The Christian Science Monitor
"Battalion 745: A Brutal Exit"



This outstanding investigative series documents the brutal last days of Indonesian Army Battalion 745 as it withdrew from East Timor, leaving 21 people dead, including *Monitor* contributor Sander Thoenes. Barr painstakingly exposes the devastating impact of the carnage. But while a U.N. prosecutor is scrutinizing the battalion's conduct, none of its soldiers has yet faced justice.

CITATION: Miriam Jordan
The Wall Street Journal
"Brief Lives: Saving the Newborn of India"

18. THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on international environmental issues

TOM HORTON, HEATHER DEWAR, FRANK LANGFITT

The Baltimore Sun
"Nitrogen's Deadly Harvest"



HORTON



DEWAR

The reporters, in a two-year effort, expose how the world's environment is being damaged by nitrogen. Their reporting takes them from Europe through the U.S. to Australia. Denied visas by the Chinese government, they bring in Frank Langfitt, the *Sun's* Beijing bureau chief, to uncover such problems as the tainting of the Yangtze River by fertilizer runoff. Their research is strong, and the writing is clear.



LANGFITT

CITATION: WGBH/NOVA/FRONTLINE
"What's Up With the Weather?"

19. THE ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on Latin America

PETER VAN SANT, SUSAN ZIRINSKY, AL BRIGANTI, PATTI ARONOFKY, SHOSHANAH WOLFSON, CHUCK STEVENSON, ROBERT OROZOVICH, MEAD STONE, ALBERTO MOYA

CBS News—48 Hours
"Lori Berenson: Brutal Consequences"

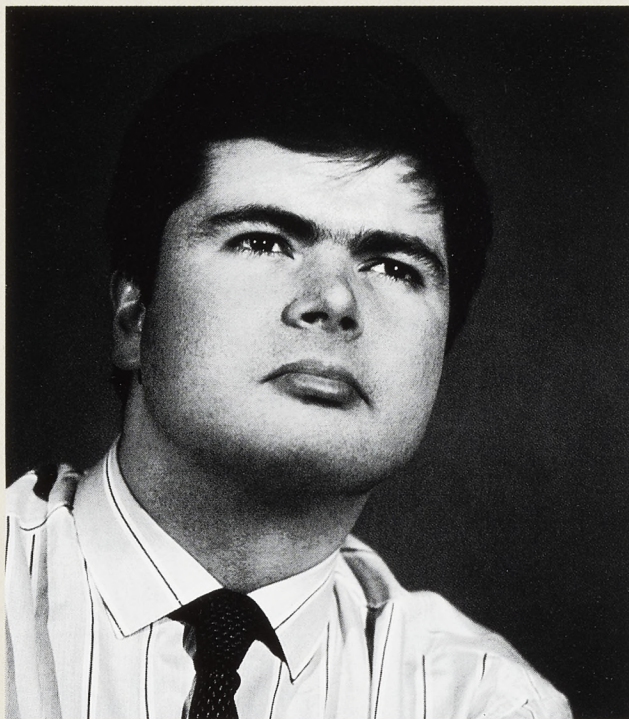


VAN SANT

In an hourlong show about the case of Lori Berenson in Peru, *48 Hours* achieved all the goals of great journalism: new insights, a compelling story, and the first interview with the young American who is serving a life sentence in Peru for treason. Both the unfairness of her trial and the inconsistencies in her stories were exposed. Peter Van Sant's skillful interview of Berenson suggested she was not just a young idealist innocently mixed up with murderous terrorists.

CITATION: Molly Moore
The Washington Post
"Irma's Dream"

The Artyom Borovik Award



Borovik: Known for his fearless reporting from troubled regions

IN MARCH 1999, A LEGEND OF RUSSIAN JOURNALISM died tragically in a plane crash. His name was Artyom Borovik and he was a familiar figure to regular U. S. viewers of the television magazine *60 Minutes*. Borovik made several appearances on the show in the 1990s, helping to expose the foibles, corruption, and policy mistakes of the Russian regime. In 1991 he won an Overseas Press Club Award for a *60 Minutes* segment on the bizarre medical lab where the brains of Vladimir Lenin and other Soviet heroes were stored and studied. In his own country, Borovik was best known for his fearless reporting from and criticism of the Soviet war in Afghanistan and, later, of the brutal Russian attempt, still ongoing, to put down a revolt in Chechnya. To many, Borovik, who died at the age of 39, is considered the founding father of the Russian free press.

Last year CBS News, together with Mortimer Zuck-

erman's *U. S. News & World Report*, began looking for a way to honor the memory of Borovik, who had reported for both organizations. The result is tonight's first presentation of the Artyom Borovik Award, which will be given to a Russian journalist who displayed great personal courage in the course of reporting on Russian culture and society during the year 2000 in any print or broadcast medium.

A total of 14 Russian-language articles and tapes were submitted to the CBS Moscow bureau as entries. A team of four American correspondents based in Moscow did the judging

there; the entries were then vetted by a second squad of U. S.-based journalists with experience reporting from Russia. The winner, who will receive an honorarium of \$3,000, had not been chosen by the time *Dateline* went to press and will be announced at a special presentation at tonight's dinner.

*Many consider
Borovik to be the
founding father
of the Russian
free press*

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Alex Taylor, *Fortune*; Robert Dowling, *BusinessWeek*; Sam Summerlin, *The New York Times Syndicate* (retired)

KING FEATURES SYNDICATE

THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Alexis Gelber, *Newsweek*; Bill Dowell, *Time*; Missie Rennie, freelance journalist

TIME

THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL AWARD

Vincent Alabiso, *Associated Press*; Simon Barnett, *Newsweek*; Bobbi Baker Burrows, *Life*; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*; Gretchen Viehmann, *New York Post*

NEWSWEEK

THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Vincent Alabiso, *Associated Press*; Simon Barnett, *Newsweek*; Bobbi Baker Burroughs, *Life*; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*; Gretchen Viehmann, *New York Post*

THE COCA-COLA COMPANY

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Vincent Alabiso, *Associated Press*; Bobbi Baker Burroughs, *Life*; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*; Gretchen Viehmann, *New York Post*

ABC

THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Nick Tatro, *Associated Press*; David Alpern, *Newsweek*; Ron Scherer, *The Christian Science Monitor*

VERIZON

THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Lee Kravitz, *Parade Publications*; Lisa Essex, *Reuters*; Lee Townsend, *CBS News* (retired)

CBS

THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Jacqueline Albert-Simon, *Politique Internationale*; John Corporon, *WPIX* (retired); Ian Williams, *The Nation*

FORD MOTOR COMPANY

THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL AWARD

Marcus Brauchli, *The Wall Street Journal*; Ed Jackson, *World Press Review* (retired); Nicholas Kristof, *The New York Times*

NEWSDAY

THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Jim Impoco, *Fortune*; Sheridan Prasso, *BusinessWeek*; Ed Robinson, *Business 2.0*

MERRILL LYNCH

THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Allan Dodds Frank, *CNNfn*; Steven Adler, *The Wall Street Journal*; Richard Greenberg, *NBC News Dateline*; Barbara Rudolph, *Institutional Investor*

FORBES MAGAZINE

THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

William Glasgall, *Investment Advisor*; Deidre Depke, *Newsweek*; Geoff Lewis, freelance journalist

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Larry Smith, *Parade* (retired); Roy Rowan, author/journalist; Richard Stolley, *Time Inc.*

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THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Jane Ciabattari, *Parade*; Brendan Koerner, Markle Foundation; Kennett Love, *The New York Times* (retired); Robert Teitelman, *The Daily Deal*

THE MADELINE DANE ROSS FUND

THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Robert Sullivan, *Earth Times*; Pamela Howard, Scripps-Howard Foundation; Steven Knowlton, Hofstra University; Christopher Wren, *The New York Times*; Jaime FlorCruz, Council on Foreign Relations

THE ESTATE OF ERIC AND AMY BURGER

THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

Pete Engardio, *BusinessWeek*; Maggie Farley, *Los Angeles Times*; Claudia Rosett, *The Wall Street Journal*; Minky Worden, Human Rights Watch

PHILIP AND KIM DINE

THE JOE AND LAURIE DINE AWARD

Linda Fasulo, *NBC News*; Dakila Divina, *Parade*; Edith Lederer, *Associated Press*

AT&T

THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

John Williams, *The Wall Street Journal* (retired); Lamar Graham, *Parade*; Stanley Slom, *New York University*; Emily Smith, author/journalist

ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN

THE ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

Jeremy Main, *Fortune* (retired); Mike Allen, *The Wall Street Journal*; Herb Lash, *Reuters*; George Russell, *Time*; Don Underwood, writer/editor

Dateline

Life

In the Crossfire

*Errant mortar shells, extortion,
summary arrest—it's just another
day in war-weary Grozny*

By David Filipov

**IN CONTROL
(BY DAY):
RUSSIAN
TROOPS
PATROL THE
CITY STREETS**





Classes had just ended at Grozny University when a half-dozen mortar shells whistled in, hurtling toward a crowd of students exiting the battle-scarred Foreign Languages building. Larisa Nanayeva, 22, died instantly in the explosion. So did three of her classmates: Madina Matayeva, 18; Madina Uspanova, 23; and Rustam Dashayev, 19. A professor, Muslim Baisultanov, lay dying nearby, next to the bodies of a couple and their young daughter. As frantic teachers and students crowded around the dead and wounded, a city official arrived with a comforting message: There was no need for alarm, he said. The university was not under attack. It was all a big mistake. Russian troops, under fire from rebel gunmen, had merely overshot their target. Another official showed up soon after. He wanted to know if there were any journalists around. If there were, they should leave.

The errant mortar attack in late December killed 11 and wounded 12. It was just one more reminder that, 10 months after Russian troops raised their tricolor flag over the Chechen capital, Grozny remains very much a war zone. It also epitomizes the difficulty Moscow faces in trying to bring peace to Chechnya, let alone reestablish control over the separatist region. So far the quagmire in Chechnya has yet to dent the popularity of Putin, who rose to power on a wave of support for tough military action against the rebels. Nor have the steady casualties from the front prompted Russians to launch sustained protest. But the longer the war drags on, the less politically viable it will be. And there is no end in sight.

The shells that landed in the crowded

university square bore with them a question that no one in Chechnya or Russia can answer: If the army has broken

rebel resistance and controls the major towns and cities, as senior commanders insist, then at whom were the soldiers firing? Moscow has repeatedly insisted that its troops have either killed or captured most of the rebels. As recently as February, General Valery Manilov put the number of remaining rebels at "three to five thousand," meaning, he said, that his troops had broken the back of the Chechen armed resistance. Manilov has been quoting the same "three to five thousand" figure since late 1999.

In fact, everyone in Grozny knows the Russian army controls the capital and other major towns only by day. At night, the troops lock themselves in their bunkers, and the streets belong to the rebels and their sympathizers. How many people support the militants is anybody's guess. The long, difficult conflict and three years of chaotic de facto independence have cost the separatists much of their support. But the Russians' brutal campaign has made many new enemies, allowing the rebels to replenish their ranks.

For the people living in the crossfire, in poverty and fear among the ruins of their homes, the violence has become a deadly routine. It intrudes on every aspect of daily life—even going to class. Every other day, it seems, Russian troops kill or wound another Chechen civilian. Chechens complain that Russian troops subject them to routine extortion and summary arrest. Soldiers enforce a 9 p.m. curfew. They shoot

**TAKING NOTE:
THE AUTHOR
(LEFT) ON
ASSIGNMENT
IN THE
WAR ZONE**



first and ask questions later. Not even ambulances go out at night.

Chechnya's Moscow-appointed civilian leader, Akhmad Kadyrov, has repeatedly called for Russia to pull out its troops and instead focus on trying to catch or kill rebel commanders. But Kadyrov, a former Muslim cleric who fought against Moscow during Russia's disastrous 1994-96 campaign in Chechnya, acknowledges the limits of his power. He does not control the army. He has survived several assassination attempts by rebels. And he avoids traveling to his own capital. "I don't go there unless I need to," Kadyrov said recently. "An accidental mortar might hit me."



Moscow says it is seeking a political solution but has refused to hold talks with the separatist President, Aslan Maskhadov. Russian officials say Maskhadov discredited himself by failing to halt rampant kidnappings and attacks by Chechen fighters that terrorized neighboring regions before the war began. Besides, the military believes Maskhadov has little or no influence over other rebel commanders.

Kadyrov says his administration has received no money from Moscow to rebuild

homes and apartments, and only a fraction of what's needed to restore infrastructure. His aides and Russian police say much of what is repaired is dismantled and looted.

Who is doing the looting is another open question. Everyone knows that in Grozny at night, troops and trucks move around, some carrying construction materials and equipment, some carrying oil stolen from the few wells that are not burning. These "unidentified troop formations," as the Chechens call them, are

widely assumed to be Russian forces.

Few Chechens trust the Russians. Rarely have Moscow's troops been punished for violence against civilians. The trial of Colonel Yuri Budanov, a Russian military commander accused of kidnapping and murdering an 18-year-old Chechen girl, began on Feb. 28 in Rostov-on-Don in southern Russia. It is the

**ROUNDUP:
MOSCOW
INSISTS THAT
IT HAS KILLED
OR CAPTURED
MOST REBELS**

PHOTOGRAPH BY LASKI DIFFUSION/LIAISON

For Chechens, the violence has become routine. Every other day, it seems, Russian troops kill or wound another civilian

first time a high-ranking officer is being prosecuted for war crimes against a Chechen civilian.

According to a statement from the Military Prosecutor's Office, "Colonel Budanov and the members of his armored personnel carrier No. 391 went to the village of Tangi in the Urus Martan region of Chechnya on 27 March 2000 at one o'clock in the morning. They entered the house of the Kungayev family, threatened the family at gunpoint, kidnapped their 18-year-old daughter, Elza, and brought her to the regiment station. There, the colonel beat, raped, and strangled her, ordering three of his soldiers to bury the body in the forest outside the regiment's base."

Budanov has confessed to the murder, but says he wasn't drunk and didn't rape the girl. He claims that he "was getting proof from the Chechen girl that she was a rebel sniper" and killed her when she insulted him. Although an initial medical examination confirmed the victim had been raped, the official version of the story

**BUDANOV:
THE RUSSIAN
COMMANDER
CONFESSED TO
MURDERING A
TEENAGE GIRL**



PHOTOGRAPH BY SERGEI VENJANSKY/AP



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Reporters who want to travel into the war zone must have an escort—but arranging one is time-consuming and costly

soon changed, and the rape charge was dropped. Even if Budanov is found guilty, says Kungayeva's father, Visa, he would not be satisfied.

For Chechens, the case is just another reason to mistrust the Russians. They say random arrests, rape, torture, and summary executions by Russian soldiers are frequent events. Often, the soldiers demand ransom from detainees' relatives. Sometimes, people abducted by gunmen wearing military uniforms turn up dead, their bodies dumped in fields or forests. In one of the most chilling discoveries, more than 50 bodies were uncovered in March just outside Russia's main military base of Khankala near Grozny. The heavily guarded area also served as a detention center for suspected rebels, and the Russian human-rights group Memorial said the bodies

were those of Chechen men and women seized by the military and executed.

When a Russian reporter, Anna Politkovskaya, said in February that she had found evidence of a similar detention camp in southern Chechnya, she was detained by Russian troops, who said she lacked the proper papers. Indeed, Moscow is trying hard to minimize the media's effectiveness. After initially restricting all access to the war zone, it began issuing accreditation to reporters—but only to visit the military press center in Khankala. Reporters who want to travel into the war zone must have an escort. Arranging such trips can be time-consuming and costly—one group of Western reporters was told in December that they would have to pay over \$1,000 to rent a helicopter for a day. Anyone who travels to the region without the military risks detention and expulsion, or worse. American aid worker Kenny

As in so many wars, the truth is a moving target. So it is with the accidental shelling of Grozny University. Originally a prosecutor blamed the military. But prosecutors say they are being pressured not to charge soldiers, notwithstanding Moscow's claims to the contrary. Now officials say it was rebels, not Russian soldiers, who over-shot their target—and not with mortars, but with rocket-propelled grenades. The new version of events did not play well in war-weary Grozny. "I've been in the city for two wars now," says a law professor at the university who asked not to be identified. "I know the difference between the way a mortar sounds and the way a grenade-launcher sounds."

Filipov reports from Russia for The Boston Globe.

NNS

NEWHOUSE NEWS SERVICE

Did you read that the planned missile defense system may operate so quickly, the president could hear we've used it only *after* we've gone to war? That you can get psychotherapy over the Web? That America faced a serious shortage of election judges on the eve of the 2000 election? About burgeoning interest in the "morning-after pill" as contraception? That immigrant children hold the power in families where they're the only English speakers? That dog bites have become an official public health problem?

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Crackdown On the Press

Pressure to toe the Kremlin line is growing—and the media are in the eye of the storm

By Robert Coalson

The first year of Vladimir V. Putin's presidency has been a trying time for Russian civil society generally, and for the media in particular. The new leader has steadfastly worked toward Soviet-style centralized control over the vast country, battling Yeltsin-era "oligarchs," wayward regional leaders, and nongovernmental organizations. All this activity has been undertaken under the Orwellian slogan of creating "manageable democracy," although it would be more accurate to call it "managed."

"When the nation mobilizes its forces to achieve some task, that imposes obligations on everyone, including the media," Kremlin spokesman Sergei Yastrzhembsky told the newspaper *Kommersant* in January. Yastrzhembsky was referring to the Russian war against separatist rebels in Chechnya, but pres-



sure to toe the Kremlin line has spread throughout Russian political life. Putin has waged a highly selective war against powerful business tycoons, known as oligarchs, and regional politicians. Pro-Kremlin oligarchs such as Roman Abramovich and Rem Vyakirov have prospered under the new regime. Corrupt and dictatorial regional leaders have been tolerated if they demonstrate proper servility in their dealings with the center. In January, 2001, the Duma adopted a Kremlin-sponsored bill that would allow many of its regional allies, notably Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaimiyev,

to run for a third term.

Corruption in Putin's inner circle has been ignored, meanwhile. Putin's chief of staff, Aleksandr Voloshin, is currently the subject of three criminal investigations. On Dec. 13, well-documented corruption charges against former Kremlin property manager Pavel Borodin were inexplicably dropped and the incriminating evidence declared a state secret. The Swiss investigator working on the case said bluntly: "In my view, a

**EMBATTLED:
MEDIA—MOST
EXECS FACE
THE PRESS
LAST YEAR
IN SPAIN**



double standard of jurisprudence has been established—one for friends, one for opponents.”

Putin has worked hard to bring all political activity under his own control, making heavy-handed use of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the security organs. Last spring, he divided the entire country into seven federal districts and appointed his personal representatives to oversee them. Six of these representatives were selected from the security organs or the military, and all have endorsed the creation of what they euphemistically call “unified information space” within their districts.

These representatives will have primary responsibility for local implementation of the national Information Security Doctrine that the Security Council adopted in September. This doctrine argues that Russia faces a number of foreign and do-

mestic threats in the sphere of information and advocates strengthening state-controlled media throughout the country by increasing direct financial support, creating a pool of loyal journalists, and giving favored media better access to information.

Putin’s drive to centralize control of political life and the media has met with little resistance from the Russian people, who are largely fed up with the irresponsibility and corruption that permeated Russia in the Yeltsin era. Neither oligarchs nor local autocrats are very popular, so there is little public resistance to having Putin take them down a notch.

Particularly outside Moscow and St. Petersburg, most Russians are profoundly distrustful of private initiative generally

and private media in particular. Surveys regularly show that hinterland residents trust state-controlled newspapers more

than private ones, although regional elites tend to prefer private newspapers. In July, a national survey revealed that a full 29% of provincial Russians think “the existence of non-state media is harmful.” Another poll showed that only 33% of Russians living outside Moscow agree that freedom of the press is presently under threat. In September, yet another poll found that 38% of Russians believe “increased state control of the media would be good for Russia,” while 25% said such control would not matter one way or the other.

In June, Putin charged that commercial media had become “mass misinfor-

A GOAL TO CONTROL: TO PUTIN, THE MEDIA ARE ENEMIES OF THE STATE

PHOTOGRAPH BY KONSTANTIN ZAVRAZHINIGAMMA

Most Russians distrust the private media—and endorse Putin's view that they are irresponsible and unpatriotic

mation outlets and a means of struggle against the state." The conglomerate Media-Most (which controls the national NTV network, the national radio network Ekho Moskvy, and the daily newspaper *Segodnya*) worked tirelessly throughout 2000 to convince the public that Putin was plotting a return to a Soviet-style regime of information control. This argument has made little impression. Instead, the Russian public has generally endorsed Putin's relentlessly stated view that the private media are irresponsible and unpatriotic.

Kremlin efforts to centralize media control have proceeded on two distinct tracks. One has been the struggle with the oligarchs, most visible in the ongoing tussle with Vladimir Gusinsky over control of Media-Most (page 66), and with Boris Berezovsky over the partially privatized public television network ORT. Both oligarchs fled abroad in 2000, facing criminal investigations in Russia and the likelihood of losing control of their media properties.

The second track, which has been pursued quietly so far, involves weakening the control of regional political forces over local mass media. The first step in this effort was the gradual shifting of control over press subsidies from local authorities to a centralized Media Ministry. The efforts of the seven presidential representatives to create additional, federally controlled regional media outlets and the adoption of the Information Security Doctrine in September are also crucial to this effort.

Russian authorities finance thousands of media outlets via an impenetrable net of regular and discretionary subsidies (including direct cash payments, rent and utility subsidies, tax breaks, in-kind newsprint contributions, and many others), established through national, regional, and local laws. Because private newspapers are eligible for and desperate to receive many of these privileges, the subsidies tend to blur the distinction between state and non-state media.

For Putin, the most damaging media event of 2000 was the August sinking of the nuclear submarine *Kursk* in the Barents Sea. The privately owned NTV and ORT networks both castigated the mili-

tary, the government, and Putin personally for their handling of the crisis. The state-controlled RTR network, which was the only media outlet allowed to send a correspondent on board the *Kursk* rescue ship, was noticeably more docile. When Putin met with the families of the drowned seamen, he blasted the press for its allegedly insensitive and unpatriotic coverage, while his government moved to prevent similar publicity meltdowns during future crises.

Moscow's clumsy handling of the submarine tragedy contrasted sharply with the muted and strictly managed flow of information from the war zone in Chechnya. When Russian troops invaded the break-away republic once again in the fall of 1999, the Kremlin immediately set up the Russian Information Agency to accredit and control the Chechen press corps. Human-rights advocates say this agency has prevented the Russian public from learning about the Russian military's "reign of terror" (to quote the medical relief organization *Medicins sans Frontières*) in the region—including bribe-taking, widespread looting, and torture of civilians. For more than a year, the Russian Information Agency has kept a tight lid on the flow of information about Chechnya. The effects of this policy are clear: Repeated polls show that the Russian public strongly supports the war effort.

In October, the Kremlin tried to build on the success of its Chechnya information policy by setting up branch offices of the Russian Information Agency throughout the country. In August, Berezovsky's Moscow daily, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, argued that the regional information agencies were meant to "undermine the political position of the governors in their regions and, simultaneously, create a mass tribune for explaining the positions of the President and the government."

During 2000, a year that saw a spate of regional elections covering roughly two-thirds of the country, the Central Elections Commission also emerged as a major tool of media control. The Law on Elections grants the elections commission broad powers, including the right to censure media outlets and disqualify political candidates. Such was the fate of

Kursk Regional Governor Aleksandr Rutskoi, who was stricken from the ballot on the eve of the election. This move was widely interpreted as punishment for Rutskoi's criticism of Putin during the *Kursk* submarine crisis. Even Press Minister Mikhail Lesin stated that under the Law on Elections, "the mass media basically have no right to even mention the name of any candidate or party."

During the various local election campaigns, the Central Elections Commission



**RELATIVES
MOURNING
THE CREW OF
THE KURSK: A
P.R. DISASTER
FOR MOSCOW**

promoted Kremlin-approved candidates by manipulating press coverage. In Ulyanovsk, for instance, local media were kept from reporting that human-rights groups were calling for the war crimes prosecution of General Vladimir Shamanov, who was accused of atrocities against civilians in Chechnya during the recent campaign. Shamanov won the governorship in December. As more and more Kremlin surrogates take over regional governorships, which in turn control local state media outlets, the process of centralizing the flow of information nationally will certainly gain momentum.

The Russian Union of Journalists, a state-subsidized organization that has never been particularly fervent in its support of

independent media, watched this unfolding process with alarm, growing increasingly radicalized as the year wore on. The union participated actively in the media-manipulation campaign that brought Putin victory in the March presidential election. But by July, it had declared that Press Minister Lesin was Russia's "Press Enemy No. 1." (Putin came in second, tied with Prosecutor General Vladimir Ustinov.) In an open letter to Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov in November, the union called for criminal charges against Lesin for allegedly conspiring with the Elections Commission to shut down a private television station in Sochi. Neither Kasyanov nor Lesin responded openly to the union's demand.

Media-Union, a new association clearly intended to undercut or even replace the Union of Journalists, was formed in late November by the head of the state news agency ITAR-TASS, Vitaly Ignatenko, and by RTR television personality Aleksandr Lyubimov. Media-Union's stated goals include "precluding the selective 'human-rights defense' of journalists that favors only 'democratic' journalists" and "the worthy presentation of the body of Russian journalists on the international stage, partly in order to end the constant, daily foreign control over the activity of our journalists." In December, Lyubimov traveled to St. Petersburg to join forces with the local League of Journalists, an organization best known for its unsub-



PHOTOGRAPH BY SIFA PRESS

In northwest Russia, authorities are setting up a TV station that will provide only "government-approved coverage"

stantiated charge that hundreds of Russian journalists are in the pay of foreign security agencies.

In December, 2000, the government announced that the state-controlled RTR network would be restructured and partially privatized. Initial Press Ministry indications were that ownership of broadcast facilities would be separated from that of production studios, although the state will maintain majority control of both. The Press Ministry also announced its intention to introduce licensing requirements for magazines and newspapers beginning in 2001. Such licenses would be issued (and, of course, withdrawn) by the Press Ministry itself, providing a powerful lever of central control over print media around the country.

The fate of the national television

channels ORT and NTV should also be decided in the course of 2001. In February, 2001, Berezovsky sold his 49% stake in ORT to the Kremlin's new favorite oligarch, Roman Abramovich, who immediately announced that he would allow the Kremlin to name all 11 members of the ORT board. Immediately, the Kremlin announced it would appoint Lesin; Putin's chief of staff, Vladislav Surkov; and three other senior officials to the board. In short, ORT has now joined RTR as a wholly state-controlled television network.

NTV, which currently is still part of Gusinsky's Media-Most conglomerate, will also see new ownership in 2001, although it is far from clear how that story will end. In December, 2000, it was announced that Gusinsky was negotiating to sell his shares to U.S. television magnate Ted Turner (who was acting in his private

capacity, not as vice-chairman of AOL Time Warner). But the Kremlin and Gazprom, a massive state-controlled conglomerate that also has a large stake in Media-Most, seemed to be doing their best to sabotage that deal and scare off any other foreign investors.

Putin's Information Security Doctrine explicitly states that foreign countries threaten Russian society by strengthening their own media presence in Russia and by "taking control over" domestic media. Some analysts believe Media-Most will most likely end up in the hands of Gazprom, with the possible involvement of Video International, an advertising firm that was founded by Lesin and maintains close ties to him. In early February, 2001, meanwhile, Berezovsky complicated matters even more by offering to loan his longtime rival Gusinsky up to \$50 million to help keep Media-Most

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**BEREZOVSKY:
THE OLIGARCH
HAS SOLD HIS
STAKE IN ORT
TO A KREMLIN
FAVORITE**

in December, journalist Pavel Sheremet, special projects director at ORT, summarized the media's gloomy

prospects: "Today, the state dominates the information sphere. In my opinion, this is a dangerous tendency because the very concepts of 'state' and 'society' are becoming interwoven in people's minds. The interests of the individual have been subordinated to those of the state; the people work for the state and not vice versa."

Throughout 2000, Putin expanded Kremlin control over political, economic, and social life in Russia. Media manipulation helped Putin to power, and it has helped him crush political challenges since he became President. The former KGB colonel is not likely to relinquish this effective instrument voluntarily.

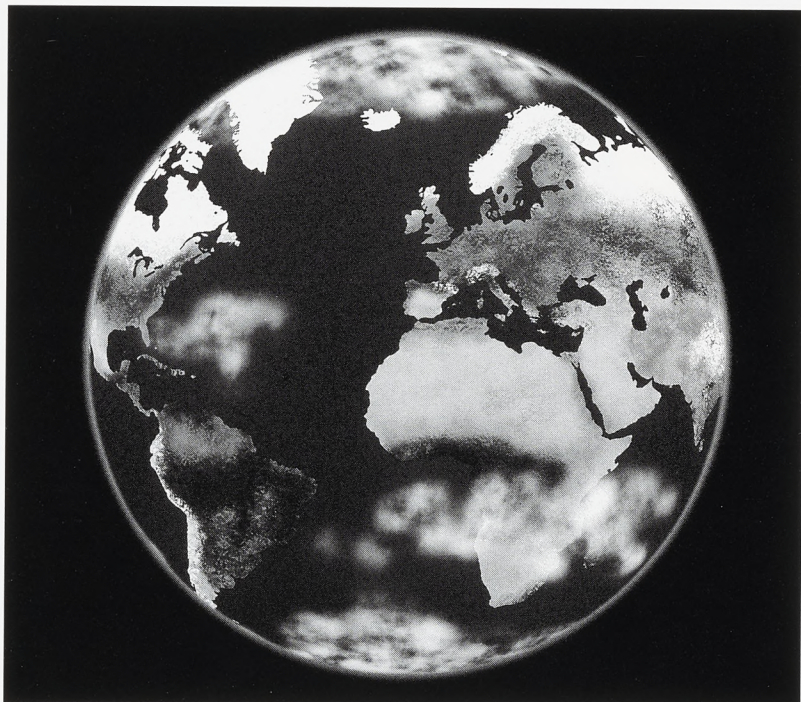
Coalson is the opinion page editor of The Moscow Times. This article was written for the Committee to Protect Journalists and is reprinted with permission.

PHOTOGRAPH BY EAST NEWS/SIPA PRESS

out of Gazprom's clutches.

Observers also expect Putin's seven regional representatives to participate actively in the restructuring of RTR in their regions and to continue launching newspapers and news agencies controlled

by their offices. In northwest Russia, for example, Presidential Representative Viktor Cherkosov has been setting up a regional television station that will, in Cherkosov's words, provide only "government-approved coverage." In an interview



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The Gusinsky

By Andrew Higgins

Nothing was going Vladimir Gusinsky's way, not even the weather. "The whole system is finished," spluttered the self-exiled Russian tycoon when a freak storm knocked out the electricity in his sprawling villa on Spain's Costa del Sol. "Everything is finished."

The lights flickered, the phones died, and the screen of a huge television set went blank. An ashen-faced servant—flown in from Moscow to cook borscht and blinis—rushed in to see what had gone wrong.

Moments later, the electricity was back and Gusinsky, then under house arrest as he fought extradition back to Russia, was again pacing a glass-walled terrace next to the swimming pool, barking commands down the telephone to lawyers in Madrid and fretful executives of his Media-Most holding company back in Russia. "Hang on in there," he urged his deputy chairman, who had just returned from an interrogation with prosecutors.

As befits a former theatre director, Vladimir Gusinsky bubbles with restless, extravagant energy. Over the years he has driven a gypsy cab, hawked New Age knickknacks, run a glassware factory, set up a bank, founded a television station, and established dozens of other companies big and small. From playing bit parts on the fringes of Russia's market economy, he rose to join a tiny coterie of dealmakers and power brokers known as oligarchs.

For the past year, however, the 48-year-old tycoon has been wrestling with an uncomfortable new role as the protagonist in a tumultuous struggle with the Russian state. After stints behind bars



Affair

A live-or-die struggle with the Kremlin, money woes—it's all part of a Russian media tycoon's life



in Moscow and Madrid, he commented glumly that he had become a world authority on jails.

But how to interpret this abrupt change of fortune? Gusinsky casts himself as a political martyr, a victim of what he and his supporters see as a drive by President Vladimir V. Putin to neuter the country's independent media and muzzle dissonant voices. Meanwhile, Putin and his own allies portray Gusinsky as a victim of his own past blunders and blame his woes on economics not politics.

Neither version, however, entirely explains the fuzzy contours of a drama that, perhaps more than any other, illustrates the murky mix of motives driving the Kremlin as Putin seeks to restore order and uproot a chaotic legacy left by Russia's post-Soviet division of wealth and power under former President Boris Yeltsin.

Before we met in Spain early this year, I had last interviewed Gusinsky back in Moscow in the messy and uncertain twilight of the Yeltsin era. As in Spain there were lots of men with guns—only then they were Gusinsky's private security guards, employed to make sure no one got in uninvited, instead of Spanish police deployed to make sure Gusinsky didn't get out.

In Moscow, Gusinsky was already in trouble—a state-owned bank had just refused to renew a loan to Media-Most—but he remained a formidable force. Gusinsky was the undisputed master of Russia's biggest media conglomerate and, as one of the country's most prominent

oligarchs, he inspired a mix of awe and fear.

Ushered through metal detectors and frisked by a beefy guard, I had been led

into a grand office with a panoramic view over the Moscow River. It was filled with trophies of success—photographs of Gusinsky with then-President Yeltsin and other dignitaries, a model of his huge private yacht, the Fortuna, a picture of the rocket that blasted a communications satellite into orbit for his NTV television network.

Over tea and biscuits served by a solicitous secretary, Gusinsky brushed aside questions about Media-Most's debts. "As regards the word debt," he said, "I fail to understand it very well." Relations with the Kremlin, he said, had indeed soured badly, but there had been other crises and all had passed. Gusinsky explained that Putin, the then-little-known former KGB officer chosen a few weeks earlier as Yeltsin's Prime Minister and heir apparent, might one day make a good president. "I personally like Putin. He is one of my generation. He is young," said Gusinsky. "I'd like to see a young politician as president."

From Spain, with the coal-black sky outside streaked with lightning, the view appeared far bleaker. "I know the game I'm in.... The state's goal is to control us, to change us, to destroy us," said Gusinsky. Russia, he said, is "an Asiatic country. We have a czar, a ruler, who says: 'I don't like so-and-so.' Then everyone rushes to be the first to destroy whomever it is he dislikes, to cut off his head and bring it to the czar, saying: 'Here is his head.' That is what's going on here." Putin "doesn't control what happens every day," but he is "very susceptible to phobias. One of his phobias is Gusinsky. I'm 100% certain of this."

With the exception of a few liberal

**IN TROUBLE:
GUSINSKY
AFTER
QUESTIONING
LAST YEAR
IN MOSCOW**

PHOTOGRAPH BY OLEG NIKSHIN/NEWSMAKERS/LIAISON



politicians and Media-Most's own staff, most Russians appear to share the same phobias. While many certainly prefer Gusinsky's NTV television network and his Ekho Moskvyy radio station to stale state-run rivals, they applaud Gusinsky's misfortune. Putin's drive—granted, a highly selective drive—to cut Russia's so-called “oligarchs” down to size plays well among a population fed up with the conspicuous consumption of a minuscule monied elite. “Like all rich and successful people, I’m not a very popular person,” conceded Gusinsky.

Outside Russia, however, it is Gusinsky who has won the upper hand. He has run rings around the Kremlin's own clumsy public-relations efforts, lobbying support from politicians and opinion makers in the U.S. and Europe. The U.S. State Dept. and editorial writers in major newspapers have voiced alarm that his woes signal a grave threat to free speech. The U.S. media executive Ted Turner has led a group of foreign investors interested in buying stakes in NTV in an attempt to prevent the channel

from falling into state hands.

The central issue, however, is not what happens to Gusinsky. It's what happens to the television, radio, and print media outlets he established. The two are linked, but not synonymous. Indeed, some of the potential foreign investors say getting Gusinsky out of the way will help protect, not cripple, the independence of his prize asset, NTV, Russia's only independent network. Gusinsky, says financier George Soros, a member of the Turner consortium, “must be separated” from NTV to ensure its survival.

The stakes in this struggle are huge: Russia's boisterous free press is perhaps the most important anchor of post-Soviet liberties. But, viewed up close, the state's confrontation with Gusinsky can sometimes resemble a soap opera of petty quarrels and slapstick errors more than an epic battle for Russia's future.

I got a glimpse of this when I flew to meet Gusinsky in Spain early this year aboard a Media-Most corporate jet, an aged Soviet-era plane refitted with wide leather arm chairs and mock-gold toilet fixtures. (Another, far more luxurious

TELEvised EXTRADITION HEARING: GUSINSKY AND SPANISH PROSECUTOR

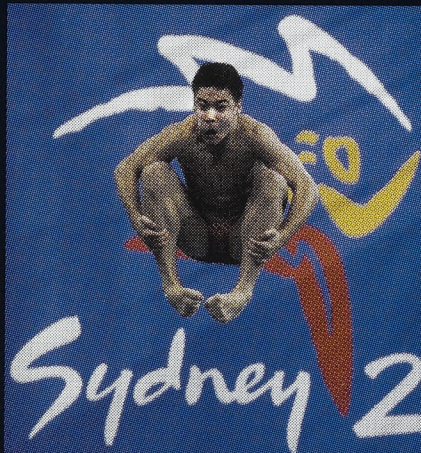
company plane, a sleek Gulfstream, was reserved for Gusinsky's exclusive use and sat motionless on the tarmac at Marbella airport).

The journey, like most Media-Most ventures, did not go smoothly. One of the passengers, Gusinsky's Moscow lawyer, arrived at the airport hours late: He had been held up by a raid on Media-Most's offices by prosecutors. (In all, law-enforcement bodies have searched the premises more than 30 times.)

When the lawyer finally showed up, officials announced that the airport was temporarily closed: President Putin was flying back to Moscow, and security regulations required that all flights be halted. A clumsy Media-Most security guard then stumbled through a plate-glass window in the VIP waiting room. This led to yet more delays as airport staff called for witnesses and negotiated payment to cover the damage.

Then, just as the plane was ready for boarding, border guards barred the 17-year-old son of Gusinsky's star television anchor from passing through immigration. He was too young, they said, and

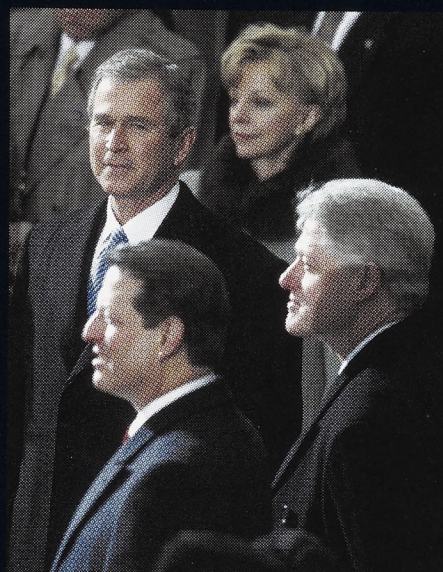
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Reuters photo by Mariana Bazo, Sydney, Australia, Sept. 28, 2000



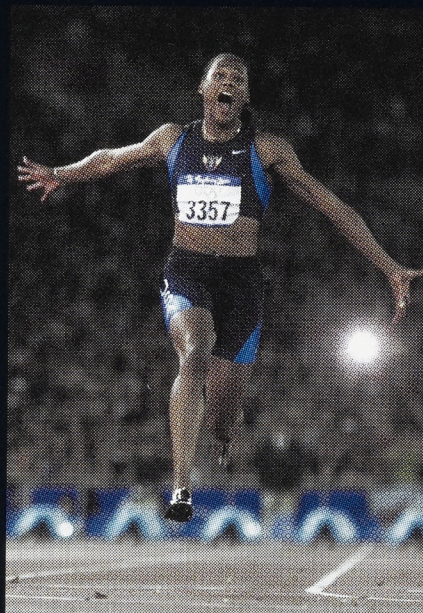
Reuters photo by Henry Romero, Cholula, Mexico, Jan. 2, 2001



Reuters photo by Jim Bourg, Washington, DC, Jan. 20, 2001



Reuters photo by Dan Chung, Dornoch, Scotland, Dec. 21, 2000



Reuters photo by Gary Hershorn, Sydney, Australia, Sept. 23, 2000



Reuters photo by Amit Shabi, Jerusalem, Oct. 13, 2000

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150
Years

Unlike his fellow oligarchs, Gusinsky created businesses from scratch rather than merely grabbing Soviet-era assets

needed written permission from his parents to leave the country. More arguments followed. After a flurry of phone calls and yet more negotiations, he was finally allowed to board.

The same mix of elements—ham-fisted harassment, silly blunders and innocent accidents—characterizes much of Gusinsky's wider conflict with Putin's "dictatorship of law." This is not a clear-cut struggle between black and white. All sides are shaded by gray.

Ruminating on his own missteps over tea beside the pool in Spain, Gusinsky acknowledged that "I can't discount my own guilt for what is happening today." His big mistake, he said, was to turn his media properties into partisan cheerleaders for Yeltsin during Russia's 1996 presidential campaign.

Like other so-called oligarchs, Gusinsky was never a truly private business-

man: His success hinged on support from the Russian state. He made his first big money in banking, thanks to political connections that helped him secure the accounts of government bodies. NTV and his other media properties were built almost entirely with loans from or guaranteed by the state and its affiliates, principally the natural-gas monopoly OAO Gazprom.

Gusinsky's current role as a champion of free speech stirs guffaws among many businessmen in Moscow. They say he frequently used his empire to bully critics and threaten rivals. One of these is Alfred Kokh, who now heads Gazprom-Media, which has been fighting to wrest control of NTV from Gusinsky. Targeted for attack after he quarreled with Gusinsky in 1997, Kokh says that the tycoon is now "picking the fruit he planted himself.... He liked [the system] before, but now he

doesn't because it's turned against him."

But, in contrast to fellow oligarchs, all of whom bullied and pulled strings with zeal, Gusinsky achieved something that sets him apart: He created businesses from scratch rather than merely grabbing Soviet-era oil wells, gas fields, and other properties in rigged privatization deals. He used the state, but he built something new from what it gave him. Without Gusinsky, Russia wouldn't have NTV, radio station Ekho Moskvy, and a string of other media outlets. "If I'd gone into metals, aluminum, oil, or gas, everything would be fine. My relations with power would be excellent," says Gusinsky. "Because I'm in media...I've become an expert on prisons."

Higgins is Moscow bureau chief of The Wall Street Journal.

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A photograph of a middle-aged man with a friendly expression, wearing a dark fur hat and a dark, heavy jacket. He is standing in front of a window with a white frame. The background is slightly blurred, showing some outdoor elements.

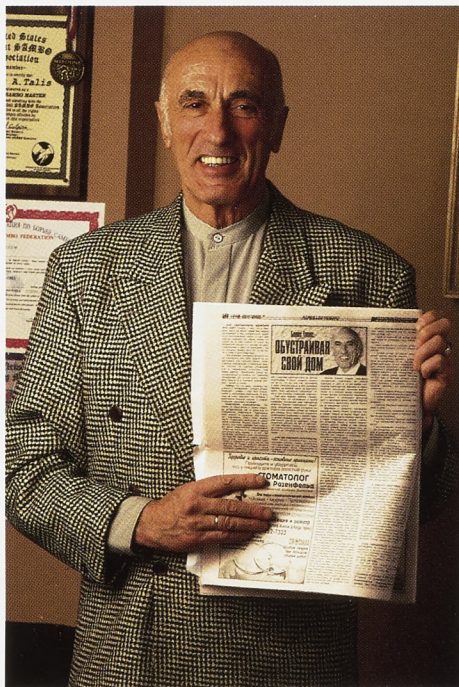
Dateline

The Russians of Brighton Beach

It took months, but photographer John Rizzo won over the wary inhabitants of New York City's immigrant enclave

Photography by John Rizzo





New Life

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: BORIS TALIS, THE AUTHOR OF A HOW-TO BOOK FOR NEW IMMIGRANTS; SUNDAY SHOPPING ON BRIGHTON BEACH AVENUE; LACKING A RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, LOCAL COUPLES OFTEN GET MARRIED AT THE NATIONAL NIGHTCLUB; DOMINOS IS A DAILY EVENT IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD





When John Rizzo began photographing the Russians of Brighton Beach in February of this year, his main aim was to capture the district's old-world charm. "My interest in Brighton Beach came from my time spent living in a small village in the heart of Sicily," the Manhattan-based photographer recalls. "It was a close-knit community where people know their neighbors and depend on them."

At first the community's very insularity worked against Rizzo: As recent immigrants, the Russians of Brighton Beach were suspicious of outsiders. "The most common initial response I received was contempt," Rizzo says. A man with cameras dangling around his neck is an object of suspicion pretty much wherever he goes. In this case, Rizzo was trying to infiltrate a community whose inhabitants had grown up under the Soviet system. Access was

not going to be easy. As a result, Rizzo sometimes resorted to shooting by stealth, setting up a long lens at night—often blocks away from the subject.

As Rizzo became a more familiar face—some days he was on the job for 18 hours and got through 15 rolls of film—the people of Brighton Beach grudgingly opened up to him. To a person, they told Rizzo that they felt genuinely fortunate to have left Russia behind and to have brought their children to the U.S. Still, locals were plenty suspicious. One time Rizzo persuaded a woman to invite him in and tell her story. As he was about to leave, she confided that, inside her apron pocket, she was packing a loaded pistol. "I was taken aback by the precautions she had taken for such a simple conversation," says Rizzo. "In fact, it was most surprising since I had been personally introduced to her by one of her trusted friends."


Every person Rizzo encountered told him that they felt genuinely fortunate to have left Russia behind



Outside and In

CONEY ISLAND'S FAMOUS BOARDWALK IS A COMMUNAL PLACE WHERE BOTH OLD AND YOUNG MINGLE, NO MATTER WHAT THE WEATHER (LEFT); BRIGHTON BEACH NEWCOMER ARMINE PAPELOV WITH HER DAUGHTERS ZHANA, 9, ANNA, 8, AND HER SON SERGY, 14 MONTHS (BOTTOM)





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Pictured: Miguel Gil Morena de Mora of AP Television News, killed in Sierra Leone, May 24, 2000.

“Had it not been for your support, we would not have been able to achieve this degree of freedom of expression in Yemen and perhaps some of us would have been in their graves by now.” –Hisham M. Basharaheel, Editor, *Al-Ayyam*

“Because of your help, I have...spirit to fight...all black influences, although my life is still in danger.” –Ammat Khunyosying, Editor, *Phak Nua Raiwan* (Thailand)

“I would like to record my personal appreciation for the support your organization extended to me and my editor, Mark Chavunduka, after the ordeal we went through at the hands of the Zimbabwean military. You are an oasis in a desert.” –Ray Choto, *The Sunday Standard*

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A Public Act of Courage

By Jeremy Main,
Kevin McDermott,
and Norman Schorr

For 60 years the Overseas Press Club of America has been a loud voice on behalf of our colleagues in jeopardy around the world. Through its Freedom of the Press Committee, the Club is unequivocal in its defense of free expression and the liberty of journalists to work free of interference or intimidation. Our touchstone is Article 19 of the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees the right to "seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." The long, sad list below is a roll of honor. Behind each brief mention is a personal act of courage. Often they take place out of sight. But occasionally a reporter's defiance becomes news, throwing a strong light on the blunt efforts of governments to quiet a disturbing voice. In 2000 there was no better illustration than the tangled story of Radio Liberty, its Chechen correspondent Andrei Babitsky, and Russian President Vladimir Putin.

U.S.-backed Radio Liberty boasts an audience of 35 million in Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Mideast. In 1991, the year of an aborted Russian coup and the year the Soviet empire died, Boris Yeltsin invited Radio Liberty to open a Moscow bureau in a gesture many interpreted as a new openness to unofficial media. But the strain of free expression proved to be too heavy. Nowhere was this more true than in the reaction to Radio Liberty's reports from Chechnya, the breakaway republic that briefly won independence in 1996 after rebels overcame Russian forces. Since then Chechnya has been battered into chaos, and Radio Liberty has regularly reported on human-rights abuses by Russian troops and casualty rates at variance with the official story.



FRUSTRATION:
PROTESTERS
IN MOSCOW
AT THE TIME
OF BABITSKY'S
DETENTION

Putin succeeded Yeltsin in 2000. In an echo of his predecessor's gesture, he portrayed himself as a protector of individual liberty, in particular freedom of the press. He promised "a dictatorship of law." But like Yeltsin, Putin would have second thoughts. At one point, Press Minister Mikhail Lesin sent a chill through the press corps when he said: "The defense of the state from the free mass media is a pressing problem at present. I don't agree with the thesis that the state is more dangerous to the

media than the media is to the state. I believe quite the opposite."

Chechnya has allowed the government to put that point of view into practice. Last year an executive order required government accreditation for reporters—both Russian and foreign. Journalists would be only allowed to file stories obtained while in the company of military escorts. Offending journalists were subject to removal from the war zone. As Putin's spokesman, Sergei Yastrezhensky, told the newspaper *Kommersant*: "When the nation mobilizes its forces to achieve some task, that impos-

PHOTOGRAPH BY MISHA JAPARIDZE/AP

es obligations on everyone, including the media." Babitsky's coverage of the Russian army's offensive in Chechnya the winter of 1999 earned special displeasure in Moscow for its accounts of abuses by Russian troops. After his accreditation was lifted, he kept reporting. On Jan. 16, 2000, he was detained by Russian forces and taken to the Chernokozovo detention center.

Weeks passed with no word from or about Babitsky. Yastrezhembzky said "circumstances" prevented him from commenting on the case. Then in early February, Moscow announced that Babitsky had been handed over to a group of Chechen rebels in exchange for captured Russian soldiers—an exchange Babitsky would later say was faked for the cameras.

A week later, with Babitsky still unreleased, the OPC's Freedom of the Press Committee delivered a strong protest to Putin, demanding information about Babitsky. On Feb. 16, several publications and civil rights groups in Moscow put out a special-edition paper on Babitsky's plight. Anatoly Chubais of Russia's Union of Democratic Forces and Oleg Mironov, Russia's human-rights commissioner, called

the Babitsky trade "a crude violation of human rights."

It would be several weeks before Babitsky resurfaced in Makhachkala, in the Russian republic of Dagestan, holding a phony Azeri passport. He was immediately rearrested by Russian authorities for carrying false I.D. Even after his release, the government kept investigating what Itar-Tass called his "alleged support for Chechen rebels." In July, he was formally charged with carrying counterfeit papers. In October, a Dagestan judge found him guilty of violating Russian passport rules and fined him 8,700 rubles (\$300). The judge then dropped the penalty under the terms of a Russian amnesty program.

Babitsky, intent on clearing his name, refused amnesty and appealed. But in December the verdict was upheld. By then



BABITSKY: NOW IN PRAGUE, HE'S FIGHTING TO CLEAR HIS NAME

Babitsky, his passport restored, was reporting from Prague for Radio Liberty's Russian service. He refuses to concede defeat, and his lawyers plan an appeal to Dagestan's high court and, if necessary, to the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation.

Meanwhile, Russia's latest offensive against Chechen separatists has displaced an estimated 300,000 Chechens and has driven 150,000 others across the border into

Ingushetia. Radio Liberty announced in February that it will broadcast in the Chechen language despite objections from Lesin that the move is politically motivated and a deliberate slap at Moscow. If Radio Liberty is found to have violated Russian law, Lesin promises to take action.

Main, McDermott, and Schorr are members of the OPC's Freedom of the Press Committee.

PHOTOGRAPH BY TATIANA MAKEVA/AP

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COMMITMENT

A photograph showing a woman with long dark hair hugging a young child with long blonde hair. They are standing on a dirt path next to a large, deep crack in the ground. In the background, there is a green field and a dark, ominous storm cloud on the horizon. A red rectangular box is superimposed on the image, framing the word "TIME" in red serif font and the distant storm cloud.

TIME

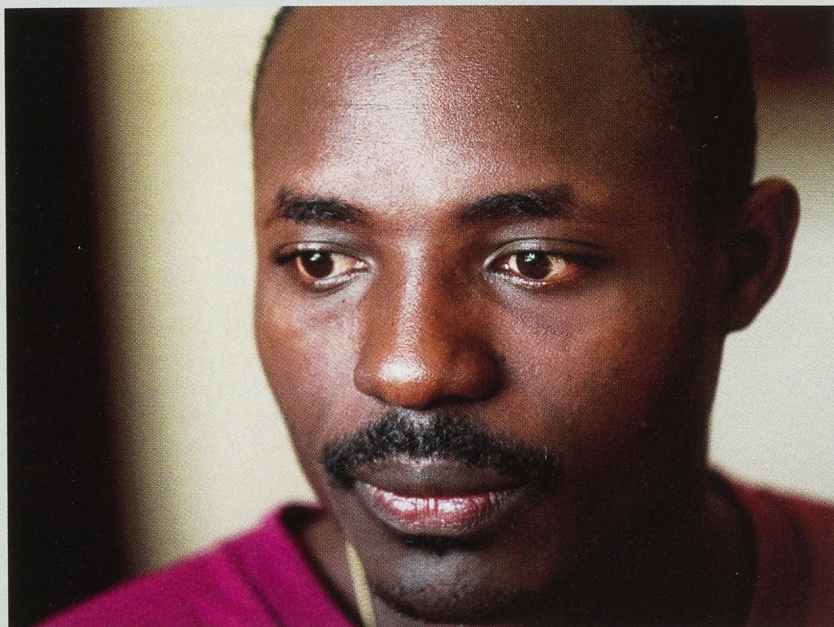
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Trouble Spots

Dateline's List of OPC Protests



ANGOLA: MARQUES SPENT WEEKS IN JAIL WITHOUT BEING CHARGED

Azerbaijan

Government officials and relatives of President Heydar Aliyev filed lawsuits against Azerbaijan newspapers and journalists, threatening to bankrupt them and put some of them in jail....Police in Baku beat 17 journalists covering an opposition rally. A month later, police clashed with celebrating students and attacked two journalists on the staff of the daily *Bu Gun*. Reporter **REVAN CHINGHIZOGLU** suffered a concussion and other injuries.

Angola

After spending 41 days in jail without being charged, freelance journalist **RAFAEL MARQUES** was held under house arrest and then brought to criminal trial for publishing an article critical of the government. The government launched a crackdown in 1998 on journalists who are allegedly "unpatriotic" or who "incited treason." Attacks on journalists in Angola have since increased in frequency and seriousness....A correspondent for *Jornal de Angola*, **ISIDORO NATALICIO**, was evicted from his home by the Housing Dept. on the grounds that he violated his lease by engaging in for-profit activ-

ities while residing in state-owned housing, specifically his work for Voice of America, Radio Ecclesia, and the Portuguese news agency LUSA.

Bangladesh

Veteran journalist **SHAMSUR RAHMAN**, special correspondent for *Jankantha*, was shot at point-blank range while working alone in his office in Jessore. Rahman earned a reputation for reporting on criminal gangs and armed political groups.

Belarus

Police arrested more than 30 Belarusian and foreign journalists covering a demonstration in Minsk commemorating the anniversary of the Belarusian republic's establishment. Police destroyed equipment, confiscated film, searched the journalists, and arrested them without explanation. They were released after several hours, some being driven to the city limits and left there....Staff at Magic Publishing House, publisher of the independent *Rabochy*, were threatened, and its editor, **VIKTAR IVASHKEVICH**, was arrested.

Botswana

The editor of *La Libre Afrique*, **FREDDIE LOSEKE LISUMBU LA YAYENGA**, was imprisoned for reporting an alleged plot to overthrow the government.

Burkina Faso

The government shut down Horizon FM, a private radio station in Ouagadougou, after it broadcast opposition complaints about the investigation of the 1998 murder of **NORBERT ZONGO**, editor of *L'Indépendant*, who had been looking into reports that the President's brother had participated in the murder of his chauffeur.

Cambodia

Publication of the *Cambodia News Bulletin* was suspended for carrying an article on the royal succession. The article was said to violate a clause in Cambodia's constitution holding that "the king shall be inviolable."

Cameroon

Dkalo published stories alleging corruption and mismanagement in a local trade union. A Yaoundé court found three journalists associated with the articles guilty of baseless accusations against the head of the National Union of Professional Truckers and sentenced them to six months in prison....**MICHEL ECLADOR PEKOUA**, publisher of *Ouest Echos*, was sentenced to six months in prison for defaming two officials of the state-owned oil company. He alleged in an editorial that they had embezzled money from the company.

Central African Republic

Bangui police arrested **MAKA GBOSSEKOTTO**, publisher of *Le Citoyen*, for insult and defamation after the paper printed a letter allegedly sent by an adviser to President Ange Felix Patasse suggesting that private companies purchase images of Patasse....In March police arrested **CARDOSO DE MEILLOT**, publisher of *Le Democrate*, for "insulting the head of state" in an article condemning corruption and describing Patasse as not "a man of his word." Cardoso was held for three weeks of interrogation and later given a suspended six-month sentence....**RAPHAEL KOPESSOUA**, publisher of *Vouma la Mouche*, was sentenced in absentia to a suspended three-year term after writing an article on money laundering, in which he claimed members of Patasse's administration were involved.

Chad

The editor-in-chief of *N'Djamena Hebdo*, Yaldet Oulatar, was charged with

criminal defamation following the publication of an opinion piece that alleged racist attacks on Chad nationals in Libya.

China

Government authorities shut down the first openly pro-democracy Web site, called New Culture Forum. The government was pursuing what it called "Web dissidents" associated with both the site and its Internet service provider in Beijing.

to reveal Vinalu's address. Both were charged with high treason and if convicted face death....The editor of *La Libre Afrique*, **FREDDIE LOSEKE LISUMBU LA YAYENGA**, was jailed for reporting an alleged plot to overthrow the government.

Côte d'Ivoire

On five occasions soldiers burst into the premises of three Abidjan newspapers—*Le Jeune Democrate*, *Le National*, and *Soir Inf*—and the home of one of the editors.



GUATEMALA CITY TRAGEDY: MARTINEZ WAS SHOT ON THE STREETS

Colombia

Reporter **MARIA ELENA SALINAS GALLEGU** was found dead beside the bodies of two guerrilla fighters in the Capotal correctional center in San Carlos, Antioquia. The circumstances of her death were unknown....Journalist **HUMBERTO GARCES**, correspondent for the magazine *Presencia Colombiana*, was shot dead in a discotheque in Acopi-Yumbo, Valle del Cauca....**JINETH BEDOYA LIMA**, a reporter for *El Espectador*, was kidnapped, tortured, and drugged when she visited a prison to interview a captive member of the right-wing paramilitary forces. She had been attacked before, in 1999.

Democratic Republic of Congo

Police acting in the name of the government arrested **EMILE-AIME KAKEKESE VINALU**, editor of *La Carrousel*, and **JEAN-PIERRE EKANGA MUKUNA**, editor of *La Tribune de la Nation*. Vinalu was arrested for reporting said to be demoralizing to the army, and Mukuna was arrested for refusing

The soldiers made threats, fired their weapons, and roughed up the staff. Six staffers at *Le National* were detained.

Cuba

The Coordinating Committee of Press Freedom Organizations cited Cuba for its "unceasing repression and control of the country's independent press and journalists." The committee complained to President Fidel Castro that foreign correspondents continue to face arrest and expulsion when trying to cover events in the country.

Egypt

Three journalists from the opposition biweekly newspaper *Al-Sha'b*—Editor-in-Chief **MAGDY HUSSEIN**, reporter **SALEH BEDEIWI**, and cartoonist **ESSAM HANAFI**—were sentenced to jail and fined for criminal libel of Youssef Wali, Deputy Prime Minister and Agriculture Minister. They had reported that Wali was trying to normalize agricultural relations with Israel. Hussein has been sentenced to jail three times....In mid-November two reporters

covering legislative elections were assaulted in Cairo while police stood by.

Fiji

Military chief Frank Bainimarama demanded that state-owned Radio Fiji reveal the sources of a news item asserting that segments of the military were opposed to the appointment of Vice-President Ratu Jope Seniloli as Acting President during President Ratu Josefa Iloilo's visit to Australia. Chief Editor **FRANCIS HERMAN** refused and was arrested, along with News Director **VASITI WAQA** and reporter **MACA LUTUNAUGA**. After the three were released, government lawyers began drafting a law that would compel journalists to reveal sources.

Gambia

BABA GALLEH JALLOW, editor-in-chief of *The Independent*, was charged with criminal libel after the newspaper reported that Gambian President Yahya A. J. J. Jammeh had married for a third time. The paper's managing editor and two reporters were charged as well....Radio journalist **OMAR BARROW** was shot and killed by the Gambian army's anti-riot unit during a student demonstration against crimes allegedly committed by Gambian authorities. He was shot after volunteering to help at a Red Cross station set up to treat those injured in the riot.

Ghana

KABRAL BLAY-AMIHERE, editor of *The Independent* and president of the West African Journalists' Assn., was arrested for writing an editorial critical of the army. He was forced to issue an apology prepared by the army. He was then rearrested and told he might face sedition charges for the same editorial.

Guatemala

ROBERTO MARTINEZ was killed by private guards while covering a protest in Guatemala City. Two other journalists were wounded. The guards were arrested....**EDUARDO PINTO** of *Nuestro Diario*, **SERGIO MENDEZ** of *Guatemala Flash*, and **MIGUEL ANGEL ALBIZURES** of *El Periódico* received death threats. Amnesty International suggested the threats were aimed at creating "an atmosphere of insecurity and terror" among journalists during the legal proceedings against eight of Guatemala's former leaders.

Guinea-Bissau

YUSSUF KEITA and **PAULA MELHO** of station RTGB were jailed after broadcasting a press release from an opposition politician.

Haiti

JEAN DOMINIQUE, Haiti's most prominent political journalist, was shot dead after broadcasting his support for a government decision to delay legislative elections until later in the year. Dominique founded Radio Haiti Inter and broadcast news and commentary six days a week.

Hong Kong

The editor of the *South China Morning Post*, **WILLY WO-LAP LAM**, resigned. Lam was reportedly under pressure from former *Post* Chairman Robert Krok, who publicly reprimanded Lam for a column suggesting that Chinese leaders had informed businessmen visiting Beijing that they should support Hong Kong's current Chief Executive, Tung Chee-hwa, for a second term in exchange for favored treatment.

Honduras

After receiving several threatening phone calls, **JULIO CESAR PINEDA** of Radio Progreso was the target of an assassination attempt. He has covered local issues aggressively and has worked with the local human-rights commission.

India

Parliament passed a law making it a crime, punishable with five years in jail, for running a Web site that is ruled anti-Indian. Legislators are also considering a bill that would require journalists to report information they have concerning terrorist activities.... **V. SELVARAJ**, correspondent with *Nakkeeran*, was shot and killed in Perambalur in the Tamil Nadu state. **R. GOPAL**, *Nakkeeran*'s editor, called the killing "a warning to those who fight to reveal the truth." Eight suspects were apprehended.

Iran

The Iranian government closed at least 16 newspapers, jailed reporters and writers, banned others from practicing journalism, compelled journalists to disclose their sources, and amended the press laws to criminalize any criticism of the constitution.... **AKBAR GANJI** was arrested and tried for insulting Islamic sanctities and rejecting Islamic judgments. He had earlier reported evidence of official involvement in the murders of Iranians who sought in 1998 to express opposition to the government.

Israel

An Israeli tank fired at a car used by a BBC crew, killing the driver.... The Committee to Protect Journalists documented more than two dozen cases of journalists injured or harassed while covering political

violence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Thirteen of these cases involved journalists wounded by gunfire, and 10 were determined to be the result of Israeli gunfire.... The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* reported that the Israeli Defense Ministry stopped issuing press credentials to Palestinians working with Western news organizations, citing their alleged bias.

Kenya

JOSEPH WANDETTO, reporter for the daily newspaper *The People of Kitale*, was ordered jailed for 18 months for publishing an "alarmist report" that a group of Presidential guards had surrendered meekly when ambushed by militiamen. He also reported that a member of the Cabinet had suggested that Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first President, be tried posthumously for crimes committed during his presidency.... President Daniel arap Moi unveiled a plan to prohibit private radio stations from broadcasting in vernacular languages. The ban was thought to be aimed at Kamene FM, which broadcasts in Kikuyu, Kenya's most widely spoken vernacular. It would also silence East FM in Nairobi, which transmits in English and Hindi, and Rehema Radio in Eldoret, which produces a slate of predominantly religious shows.

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Chosun Ilbu reporter **KIM IN-GU** was refused permission to enter North Korea after arriving in Changjon Harbor as part of a press pool sent to cover Red Cross negotiations to help reunite families separated by the Korean War. A colleague at Chosun Ilbu was earlier refused admission to the north because of the paper's "critical reporting."

Lebanon

An anti-riot police squad beat a group of journalists—including Agence France-Presse photographer **RAMZI HAIDAR** and Associated Press photographer **HASSAM MOUNIA**—who were attempting to cover police action against demonstrators protesting the expulsion of four members of the Japanese Red Army. The photographers were beaten with truncheons and their film confiscated.

Liberia

Police shut down two privately owned radio stations, Star Radio and Radio Veritas, for "a rising incidence of inflammatory comments." Two other stations that continue to broadcast are the private property of President Charles Taylor.... The government dropped charges against a television crew from Britain's Channel Four three days after they were arrested. The four-man

team was detained on Aug. 18 on espionage charges.

Mali

CHAHANA TAKIOU of *L'Independent* was apparently reporting a story when Mamadou Gassama Diaby, a member of Parliament from the ruling Democratic Alliance of Mali, punched and kicked him several times and seized him by the neck in an apparent attempt to strangle him.

Malaysia

ZULKIFLI SULONG, editor of *Harakah*, an opposition newspaper, and **CHIA LIM THYE**, owner of the company that prints the newspaper, were arrested and charged with sedition. *Harakah* had published criticism of the government's sodomy trial against former Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim. Zulkifli faced up to six months in prison.... The weekly newsmagazine *Wasilah* was suspended by the Home Ministry for "imbalanced reporting and noncompliance with publication rules and regulations." Its editor, **AHMED LUTFI OTHMAN**, is a member of the opposition Pan-Malaysian Islamic party.

Mexico

PABLO PINEDA, reporter and photographer for *La Opinion* in Matamoros, was found murdered by U.S. Border Patrol agents, who had seen two men carrying a large bundle across the border. He had been shot in the back of the head and apparently tortured. Pineda's aggressive reporting had made enemies among both criminals and police. He had survived an assassination attempt in 1999 and a severe beating in 1997. The body of **JOSE RAMIREZ PUENTE**, director of the news program *Juarez Hoy* on Radio Net 1490, was found with 30 knife wounds. A reporter for *La Jornada*, **JAMIE AVILES**, received a death threat after making allegations of corruption against Governor Roberto Madrazo of Tlaxcala. Madrazo was defeated for reelection in October.... Two men posing as members of the Judicial Police kidnapped journalist **FREDDY SECUNDINO SANCHEZ** of *Epoca*. Sanchez was threatened with death if he continued reporting about the presidential elections.

Morocco

MUSTAFA ALAOU, editor of the weekly *Al-Ousbou*, and **KHALED MESHBAL**, editor of another weekly, *Al-Shamal*, were convicted in separate trials of libeling Foreign Minister Muhammad Ben Aissa and sentenced to jail, fined, and temporarily banned from journalism. The pair reported that Ben Aissa, Moroccan ambassador to

the U.S. had arranged for his government to purchase a new residence for him at twice its appraised value.

Mozambique

Medical editor **CARLOS CARDOSO** was murdered on Nov. 22. The week before he had launched a campaign against what he called "the gangster faction" in the ruling **FRELIMO** party, which he accused of provoking political violence.

Nepal

KRISHNA SEN, editor of the weekly *Janadesh*, remains in jail despite an order by Nepal's Supreme Court that he be released. He was arrested in April, 1999, after publishing an interview with the leader of a Maoist insurgency. He was charged with threatening domestic security and tranquility, but he was not tried. Another *Janadesh* journalist, **MILAN NEPALI**, dropped from sight after being arrested early in 1999 for the third time. Police deny any record of his detention.

The Netherlands

Reporter **KOEN VOSKUIL** was jailed for refusing to reveal the sources of two stories concerning a criminal investigation that were published in the tabloid *Splts*.

Nigeria

Government agents searched the offices of the Lagos daily, *This Day*, and attempted to arrest Editor-in-Chief **NDUKA OBAIGBENA**, who was absent at the time. The government had previously detained two *This Day* journalists. . . . Journalists in the northern state of Kano were warned that they would be caned publicly if they published stories found "offensive" under the Islamic legal code of Sharia. . . . Two reporters for *Punch*, **SETH DANIEL** and **TONY ETIM**, were assaulted in Uyo, Akwa Ibom. . . . Reporter **KEN ESENI** and cameraman **WALE FATOYE** of Minaj Broadcasting International were beaten and arrested in Abuja. . . . **FUNMI KOMOLAFE**, labor reporter for *The Vanguard*, was beaten severely in Lagos.

Palestine

Yasser Arafat's government arrested **FATHI BARQAWI**, news director of The Voice of Palestine, and suspended the broadcasting authority of two stations. . . . General Intelligence agents called in **MAHER AL-ALAMI**, a regular contributor to the weekly *Al-Istiqlal*, and then held him without charge. . . . **SULEIMAN AMAYREH**, editor and publisher of the *Hebron Times*, was detained by Palestinian police following his live appearance on the Gulf-based satellite news station Al-Sharqah. During the program, Amayreh criticized the Palestinian

National Authority for negotiating with Israel and for what he termed rampant corruption. He also called for the release of imprisoned Hamas activists.

Peru

TV station Canal N was fined \$84,000 for broadcasting poll results in violation of a law prohibiting dissemination of information about voter preferences within 15 days of an election. During the presidential campaign some radio stations were closed, certain reporters were denied accreditation to cover the campaigns, and at least five journalists were threatened. . . . Journalist **FABIAN SALAZAR OLIVARES**, a critic of the National Intelligence Service (SIN), was tor-

armed men attacked him and his military escorts. One of his escorts was killed, and five others were wounded. The government has provided protection for Ampatuan since a bomb exploded outside his station during one of his daily broadcasts. He had received several death threats after criticizing the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. . . . **VINCENT RODRIGUEZ** of the Manila-based DZMM radio station was killed when rebels ambushed a convoy of small boats accompanying the President's son on a visit to coastal villages. . . . Three journalists with France-2 television network — **MARYSE BURGOT**, **JEAN-JACQUES LE GARREC**, and **ROLAND MADURA** — were abducted by the Abu



THE PHILIPPINES: FRANCE-2'S BURGOT (LEFT) AFTER HER RELEASE

tured, reportedly by SIN agents, and then fled the country. . . . Another government critic, **HERNÁN CARRIÓN DE LA CRUZ** of Radio Ancash in Chimbote, escaped an assassination attempt and had his weekday news show suspended. . . . The Coordinating Committee of Press Freedom Organizations called on Prime Minister Javier Perez de Cuellar to repeal all laws restricting press freedoms. . . . An attempt was made on the life of **CECILIA VALENZUELA VALENCIA**, director of the press agency *Imediaperu*, apparently in reprisal for articles she published linking the Peruvian Intelligence Service to drugs and arms trafficking.

Philippines

ZAMZAMIN AMPATUAM, host of a daily news and cultural program on radio station DXMS on Mindanao, suffered leg wounds on March 27 when a group of 14

Sayyaf guerilla organization. The trio had gone to Jolo Island to interview 20 hostage tourists taken from a Malaysian resort. In June the Abu Sayyef released 10 journalists working for German news agencies after a ransom of \$25,000 was paid.

Russia

RAMZAN MEZHIDOV, freelance cameraman for TV Tsentr in Moscow, and **SHAMIL YEGAYEV**, cameraman for an independent TV station in Grozny, were killed while covering a convoy carrying refugees out of Grozny. When a Russian rocket struck a bus full of refugees, the two cameramen left their vehicle to film the scene and were killed by another rocket. . . . **DMITRY BALBUROW**, correspondent for Moskovskiy Novosti, and freelance photographer **BRICE FLEUTIAUX** of France were reported missing and believed

held by Chechen rebels....Masked federal agents raided the headquarters of Media-MOST, Russia's largest privately owned media company. Subsequently, **VLADIMIR GUSINSKY**, the head of Media-MOST, was arrested and held on charges of embezzlement. The government later sought unsuccessfully to extradite Gusinsky from Spain....**ISKANDAR KHATLONI**, Moscow correspondent for Radio Liberty's Tajik service, was murdered with an ax in apparent reprisal for his investigation of human-rights abuses in Chechnya. Earlier in the year **SERGEI NOVIKOV**, owner of the independent Vesna radio station in Smolensk was gunned down in his apartment building, and **IGOR DOMNIKOV**, a journalist with Novaia Gazeta, was bludgeoned to death....Reporter **TAISA ISAYEVA** disappeared after being stopped at a checkpoint in Georgia. She was carrying a video camera and a notebook computer.

Sierra Leone

Gunfire from inside the house of Vice-President Foday Sankoh, who is also head of the Revolutionary United Front, killed **SAO-MAN CONTEH** of the weekly New Tablet, who was covering a demonstration outside the house. On the same day, RUF rebels attacked **CORINNA SCHULER**, a Canadian journalist working for the *Christian Science Monitor*, and threatened to kill her.

Solomon Islands

DURAN ANGIKI and his family were threatened by Andrew Nori, a spokesman for the Malaita Eagle Force, after alleging in a report carried by the online news service Pasifik Nius that Mr. Nori had been paid by the government of Prime Minister Mannseh Sogavare for his services to the MEF. Previously, two journalists for the *Solomon Star* in Honiara fled the city after receiving threats from the MEF.

Sri Lanka

After an attempt on her life in December, 1999, President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga accused the media of ganging up on her and threatened to take every possible action against it short of murder. Subsequently, the state-owned media accused the editors of two independent newspapers—**LASANTHA WICKRAMATUNGA** of the *Sunday Leader* and **VICTOR IVAN** of *Ravaya*—of conspiring to overthrow the government. Three journalists were assassinated, and two camera assistants killed in the suicide attack on the President. In September, **WICKREMATUNGA** was convicted of criminal defamation for alleging in a 1995 article that President Kumaratunga had not fulfilled campaign promises....

SINHA RATNATUNGA, editor of *The Sunday Times*, appealed his criminal defamation conviction in 1997 for publishing a gossip item about President Kumaratunga. He awaits a verdict....Demonstrators led by Buddhist clergy opposed to negotiating with the Tamil Tigers assaulted **ELMO FERNANDO**, correspondent for the BBC's Sinhala-language service, whom they accused of favoring the Tigers....A bomb blew up in front of the home of **NELLAI G. NADESAN**, columnist for *Veerakesari*, a Tamil-language newspaper....Veteran journalist **MYLVAGANAM NIMALARAJAN** was killed, shot through a window of his home as he worked on an article. He had recently reported on alleged vote-rigging in the October parliamentary elections and the problems facing people displaced by the war between government troops and Tamil separatists....In July the government renewed its censorship of war-related and other news considered to be "against national security." Several days earlier the Sri Lanka Supreme Court had ruled news censorship illegal. The court's finding had reversed government orders to shut down *The Sunday Leader* and *Irida Peramuna*.

Sudan

MOHAMED TAHA MOARNED AHMED, editor of *Al Witaq*, was struck by an automobile as he left the offices of the National Press Council, where he had been questioned for allegedly defaming Hassan El Tourabi, president of the National Congress of the People. After reports appeared that the incident was deliberate, the council imposed a media blackout and closed *Al Witaq* for five days.

Swaziland

The Swaziland government shut down the *Swazi Observer* media group of three publications. One of its reporters, **THULANI MTHETHWA**, repeatedly refused to reveal sources for articles written about two criminal cases. Mthethwa and his editor received a summons to appear before an escalating series of officials—beginning with their own board of directors and culminating with the Prime Minister. When the country's high court refused to order them to talk, the government shut down the publications....**BHEKI MAKHUBU**, former news editor for *Time Sunday*, was tried for criminal defamation after describing Princess Liphovela, the king's fiancée, as a high school dropout. Upon his acquittal in August he launched a monthly magazine.

Thailand

AMNAT KHUNYOSING, the owner and editor of *Phak Nua Raiwan*, noted for his coverage of political corruption in

Bangkok, was shot and left for dead. He was saved by nearby residents who took him to a hospital.

Togo

The government arrested **HYPPOLYTE AGBOH**, publisher of the private weekly *L'Exilé*, after he reported erroneously that the President's daughter had been killed in a car accident. He faced a jail term and a fine.

Tunisia

The government has targeted the family of **NOUREDDINE AOUIDI**, exiled former editor-in-chief of *Al-Akhbar*. His brother has been tortured and imprisoned, his sister denied permission to go to France to join her husband, and his father harassed.

Turkey

The Progressive Journalists Association of Turkey reported a bomb attack on its branch in Central Anatolia....The Turkish government filed charges against journalists at five newspapers for defaming Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk....The Supreme Board of Radio & Television shut down a private radio station, Antalya FM, which had been critical of the government....The paper *Sabah* discontinued the column of Cengiz Candar, claiming he breached Turkey's law against insulting military authorities.

Uganda

FRANK BAGONZA KIMOONE and **JOSEPH KASIMBAZI** of the Voice of Toro were held for 24 hours without food or water after the station broadcast an erroneous report about a massacre of civilians. They were released on bail but charged with sedition and banned from radio broadcasting.

Ukraine

Pravda Ukrainy editor **HYHORII GONGADZE**, long-standing critic of President Leonid Kuchma, disappeared from his home in Kiev in September....Freelancer **VALENTINA VASILCHENKO** was assaulted in her apartment building in Cherkassy after publishing a series of articles about police corruption....**OLEG LIACHKO**, *Svoboda* editor-in-chief, was beaten after refusing to reveal his sources for articles on Ukrainian political figures, state-security officials, and members of the criminal underworld.

United Kingdom

A British court ordered *The Observer* and *The Guardian* to produce material they had gathered in the case of David Shayler, a former intelligence officer who fled to France. MI5 wanted *The Observer's* e-mail traffic with Shayler as well as reporter **MARTIN**

BRIGHT'S notes. It requested *The Guardian's* copy of a letter from Shayler.

Venezuela

The Coordinating Committee of Press Freedom Organizations urged President Hugo Chavez to "abandon his policy of aggression and attacks on freedom of expression and newsmen and newswomen."

Yemen

The government suspended the opposition weekly, *Al-Wahdawi*, and ordered that its editor and columnist, **JAMAL AMER**, be expelled from journalism. He had printed a column describing power struggles within the Saudi Arabian royal family that allegedly offended Riyadh's King Fahd and complicated attempts to settle a border dispute between the two countries....The government filed multiple charges against **HISHAM BASHARAEEL**, editor-in-chief of the independent newspaper *Al-Ayyam*, for publishing an interview with a government critic. He faces up to three years in jail.

Yugoslavia

Slobodan Milosevic's government seized

Studio B and silenced Radio B2-92....The public-information law was used more than 60 times to fine printers, newspapers, and magazines....**MIROSLAV FILOPOVIC** of *Danas* was convicted in a closed-door military court for espionage and spreading false information. The court found that his accounts of a secret army intelligence report describing atrocities against Kosovo Albanians during last year's NATO bombing campaign constituted espionage. Filopovic was sentenced to seven years and ordered to pay all court costs. Following the unseating of Milosevic, he was released.

Zambia

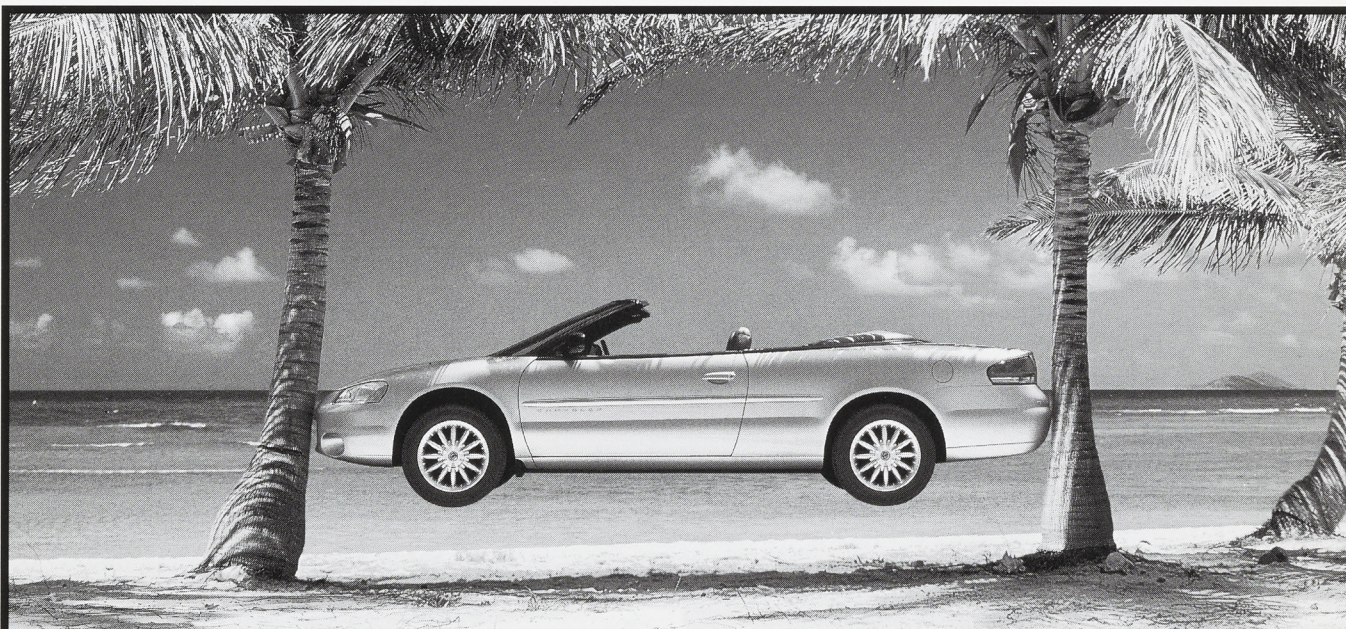
Eleven journalists arrested in 1999 from *The Post* went on trial more than a year later, charged with breaching state security. They had questioned Zambia's ability to defend itself against Angola....**ANTONIO PACIENCIA**, an editor at state-operated Radio Nacional de Angola, died suspiciously while on a tour of refugee camps sponsored by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. He had earlier reported being followed and had asked not to return to Lusaka on a scheduled flight. The camps

housed 11,000 Angolans, most of them loyal to Jonas Savimbi.

Zimbabwe

Police in Harare arrested **OBED ZILWA**, a South African working for the Associated Press. He was charged as a suspect in the bombing of *The Daily News* of Harare on April 22. The newspaper's editor-in-chief, **GEOFF NYAROTA**, had received death threats, and six of the paper's employees were assaulted....Zimbabwe's information Minister, Jonathan Moyo, threatened to charge two independent Harari newspapers—*The Daily News* and the weekly *The Standard*—with criminal defamation....Moyo also warned that the government would soon amend its press laws in order to silence the two papers "once and for all."....**RAY CHOTO** of *The Standard* claimed that he and a colleague were tortured in retaliation for their political reporting.

In addition to the authors, the members of the Overseas Press Club's Freedom of the Press Committee include John Langone, John Martin, and Robert Sullivan.



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